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Maximilian I.

HISTORY

OF THE

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA,

FROM THE

Foundation of the Monarchy

BY RHODOLPH OF HAPSBURGH,

TO THE DEATH OF

LEOPOLD THE SECOND:

1218 TO 1792.

BY WILLIAM COXE, F.R.S. F.A.S.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS, AND RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

THIRD EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PREFACE.

As no regular and connected History of the HOUSE of AUSTRIA has ever been printed in any language, this work will at least possess the merit of novelty.

Although I have employed a longer time, and far more assiduity, than on any preceding publication, and can boast of more ample stores than have been usually possessed by the historian; yet, when I reflect on the length of the period, the quantity of materials, and the interesting nature of the events, I feel more diffidence and anxiety than I have ever before experienced, and throw myself on the candour and indulgence of the Public.

The house of Austria has long been the subject of my contemplations. During my travels in Switzerland, the character and exploits of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, and the deeds of his immediate descendants, naturally arrested my attention. While resident at Vienna, the subject pressed more strongly on my mind; and from the rich stores of the imperial library, and other sources of information, I collected abundant materials for biographical memoirs of the great founder of this illustrious family. Other travels, and other publications, suspended this design; and I changed it for the historical and political state of Europe, in which the house of Austria was intended to form a conspicuous figure. This plan was, however, relinquished, for reasons which I have mentioned in the preface to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole: but my collections for the Austrian History still continued to augment, particularly during two subsequent visits to Vienna. New literary pursuits still suspended, without diverting, my

design; and the papers, to which I obtained access, while I was compiling the Memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, swelled the mass of materials, and threw a new and interesting light on the modern period of the Austrian annals. At length I found leisure to turn my whole attention to a work, which I had been unwilling to relinquish, though unable to complete; and the result of my labours is the book now offered to the reader.

The following history presents the spectacle of a family rapidly rising from the possession of dominions, which form scarcely a speck in the map of Europe, to a stupendous height of power and splendour, equal, if not superior, to any preceding dynasty. Like the Danube of its native mountains, at first an inconsiderable rill, obscurely winding amidst rocks and precipices, then swelling its volume by the accumulation of tributary streams, carrying plenty and fertility to numerous nations, and, finally, pouring its mighty waters, by a hundred mouths, into the Euxine sea. The members of this family present every possible variety of character, and every species of merit or acquirement: cultivators or protectors of letters and science; the distinguished heroes and statesmen of almost every age; its ministers and warriors the patterns and admiration of their contemporaries. The period of its history comprises a space of six centuries, from the earliest dawn to the meridian of modern science; from the age of feudal barbarism to the full splendour of European civilisation.

To this family does Europe owe its preservation. In this house has Providence placed the barrier which arrested the progress of the Mahometan hordes, and prevented the banner of the crescent from floating in triumph over the Christian world. United with the Catholic church by interest, no less than by passion and prejudice, its chiefs were, for a short time, the great opposers of truth, and the oppressors of civil and religious liberty. But adversity taught more tolerant and liberal principles; and, as Austria first saved Europe from Mahometan barbarism, she has since formed the great bulwark of public freedom, and the great counterpoise to France, in the political balance. At all times, and in all circumstances, Austria has been pre-eminent in peace as in arms; the court of Vienna has

invariably been the great centre on which the vast machine of European policy has revolved.

I proceed to state the plan of the work, and the authorities by which I have been guided in the composition.

I have endeavoured to divest myself of party and local prejudices ; I have weighed every evidence with candour and impartiality, and have given the result of a laborious investigation, by presenting a faithful and consistent picture of times, characters, and events, without trespassing on the patience of the reader by disquisitions on the innumerable contradictions and clashing testimonies which impeded my progress at every step.

Unfortunately for man, it is the sword which decides the fate of nations, secures their tranquillity, and promotes their aggrandisement ; — it is the sword alone which is the guardian of national honour, and the protector of public and private happiness. Commerce may enrich, the arts may civilise, science may illuminate a people ; but these blessings can only owe their safety and stability to military force. War, therefore, to the regret of every milder virtue, must form the principal subject of history. For this reason I have paid peculiar attention to military transactions ; and trust I have treated this subject in a different manner from preceding writers. From the examination of military details I have been enabled to place many points of history, and many characters, in a new and perspicuous light ; and I have shown to the English reader the importance of an efficient military force, pointed out the manner in which it has been employed with effect, and displayed the intent, the value, and the necessity of continental alliances.

I have not adopted the formal method of divisions and subdivisions ; but have suffered myself to be carried by the stream of time, marking, with sufficient distinctness, the more important periods, and introducing, in occasional pauses, reviews of the state of Europe, from which the reader may form a judgment of the progressive rise, extensive connections, and comparative greatness of the Austrian monarchy.

As on the death of Maximilian I. the house of Austria was divided into the Spanish and German branches,

it was my intention to have traced the history of both; but the magnitude of the work compelled me to abandon my plan, and confide himself to the longer and more interesting period of the German line. I have however, dwelt sufficiently on the reign of Charles V. to preserve the uniformity and connection of the narrative.

The history naturally closes with the death of Leopold II.; as it is not possible for an author, who values the reputation of candour and authenticity, to compile from imperfect documents, and amidst the misrepresentations of passion and prejudice, a faithful account of those portentous revolutions which have totally changed the political relations and importance of Austria, and confounded all the ancient connections of Europe.

My authorities are printed, manuscript, and oral.

It would be superfluous to recapitulate the titles of the numerous printed works which I have consulted and compared.

The manuscript authorities commence with the accession of Charles VI.; and, as a bare catalogue would fill several pages, I shall only mention the principal.

I have had the singular good fortune to obtain access to the papers of most of the British ministers at the court of Vienna, from 1714 to 1792. These are:

I. The letters of General Stanhope, Lord Cobham, General Cadogan, and Sir Luke Schaub, who were sent to Vienna to negotiate the Barrier Treaty. — In the Walpole papers.

II. The papers of St. Saphorin, a native of Switzerland, who was British agent at Vienna from 1720 to 1728. — In the Walpole, Townshend, Hardwicke, and Waldegrave papers.

III. The despatches of Lord Waldegrave, during his embassy from 1728 to 1730. — In the Waldegrave papers.

IV. The diplomatic correspondence of Sir Thomas Robinson, afterwards Lord Grantham, during his long residence at Vienna, from 1730 to 1748; as well as at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was Plenipotentiary. — In the Grantham papers.

V. The despatches of Mr. Keith, during his residence as British minister at Vienna, from 1747 to 1758, when the

celebrated family compact with France dissolved the union between Austria and England.

VI. But the documents of all others the most important, and without which I could not have completed the latter part of the history, are contained in the papers of his son, Sir Robert Murray Keith, which commence with 1772, terminate at the close of 1791, and comprise the latter part of the reign of Maria Theresa, and those of Joseph and Leopold.

For the use of these two invaluable collections, I am indebted to Mrs. Murray Keith, the only surviving sister of Sir Robert Keith, by the intervention of my noble friend the Earl of Hardwicke, whose uninterrupted kindness I cannot acknowledge in terms sufficiently grateful.

VII. Besides these documents penned at Vienna, I have had recourse to the extensive correspondence of the ministers at home, or ambassadors in foreign courts, contained in the Orford, Walpole, Townshend, Hardwicke, Keene, Harrington, and other collections which are enumerated in the prefaces to the memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole.

VIII. Other papers, of recent date, delicacy precludes me from particularising.

I cannot specify all the sources of oral information, which I acquired during my travels, from foreign ambassadors, and the ministers of the respective courts which I visited. Among them, however, I may be permitted to mention the Prussian minister count Hertzbergh, and some confidential friends of prince Kaunitz. I have also derived intelligence from numerous persons in high stations, both at home and abroad, who have taken a share in the transactions during the reigns of Maria Theresa and her two successors.

Those who are conversant with the secret history and diplomatic correspondence of the times, will be convinced of the authenticity and extent of my information; and the reader, to whom I cannot disclose all my authorities, will, I trust, give me that credit for integrity and good faith, which I have hitherto maintained.

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HISTORY

OF

THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

Ch. I.—RHODOLPH OF HAPSBURGH.—1218-1273.

The House of Austria owes its origin and power to Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, son of Albert IV. Count of Hapsburgh.

The Austrian genealogists, who have taken indefatigable but ineffectual pains to trace his illustrious descent from the Romans, carry it with great probability to Ethico, duke of Alsace, in the seventh century, and unquestionably to Guntram the Rich, count of Alsace and Brisgau, who flourished in the tenth.

In the confused accounts of the times, and amidst the perpetual changes of property and dignities, it is difficult to trace with accuracy the titles and possessions of the immediate descendants of Guntram. His son Kanzeline seems to have been designated as count of Altenburgh, and to have resided in the midst of his domains, not far from Windisch, the site of the Roman colony Vindonissa. Radebot, a son of Kanzeline, was called count of Cleggow, and married Ida, daughter of Gerard, third count of Alsace, and duke of Loraine. Another son, Werner, became bishop of Strasburgh, and on an eminence above Windisch, built the castle of Hapsburgh, which became the residence of the future counts, and gave a new title to the descend-

ants of Guntram.* Otho, the eldest son of Radebot, dying in 1046 without issue, Werner, the second son, is first distinguished in ancient records as count of Hapsburgh.

The successors of Werner increased their family inheritance by marriages, donations from the emperors, and by becoming prefects, advocates, or administrators† of the neighbouring abbeys, towns, or districts, and his great grandson Albert III. was possessor of no inconsiderable territories in Suabia, Alsace, and that part of Switzerland which is now called the Argau, and held the landgraviate of Upper Alsace.‡

His son, Rhodolph, received from the emperor, in addition to his paternal inheritance, the town and district of

* Many erroneous opinions have been given concerning the origin of this memorable castle; but the records of the abbey of Muri unquestionably prove that it was built by Werner. In the letters of foundation (dated in 1027) belonging to that establishment, which also owed its origin to Werner, he says, "I, Werner, bishop of Strasburgh, and founder of the castle of Hapsburgh." Hergott—Tschudi—Caccia.

† The term used by the ancient German writers to designate the person who held this office, or dignity, is Voght, and Land Voght; which literally means bailiff or steward. In the Latin deeds it is usually called Advocatus. The original duty of the advocate or prefect seems to have been to compose internal dissensions, to preside, either by himself or deputy, in the criminal courts; to guard the highways; to manage external transactions, and to appear in behalf of his clients in the Imperial courts. In this duty was likewise comprehended the protection of the town or district against the neighbouring barons. The prefect obtained a considerable salary from fines, tolls and duties, and was enabled to summon to his standard the people of the town or district over which he presided. In process of time this office which was at first elective and temporary, became permanent, and often hereditary, and even frequently led to the assumption of sovereign authority.

‡ Albert III. is the first of the Hapsburgh family on record who styled himself landgrave of Alsace, a title which has been borne by all his descendants, both of the Hapsburgh and Austrian line. The title of Landgrave does not seem to have been used before the tenth century. Alsace at that period was divided into the landgraviates of Upper and Lower; the first sometimes called Sundgau, the latter Nordgau. The counts of Hapsburgh were the landgraves of Sundgau, or Upper Alsace. The possessions, authority, and revenues, which they derived from the office of Landgrave, were at this early period very inconsiderable, though afterwards the Austrian family acquired by purchase, marriages and grants, almost the whole of Alsace. — *Schœpflin's Alsatia Illust.*

Lauffenburgh, an imperial city on the Rhine. He acquired also a considerable accession of territory by obtaining the advocacy of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, whose natives laid the foundation of the Helvetic Confederacy, by their union against the oppressions of feudal tyranny. A dispute arising between the natives of Schweitz and the abbot of Einsidlin, concerning the property of some Alpine forests and pastures, these sturdy mountaineers renewed their confederacy with Uri and Underwalden, resisted the mandates of the Emperor Henry V., who put them under the ban of the empire, and despised the excommunications of the Bishop of Constance. They chose for their prefect Count Ulric of Lentzburgh, who succeeded in reconciling them with the Emperor Frederic I., the founder of a new dynasty in the House of Suabia; and the Swiss warriors, flocking to the Imperial standard, performed essential services in the wars which he and his successors maintained against the popes and the adherents of the Roman See.

After the death of Ulric the three cantons again renewed their confederacy, and the natives of Underwalden chose Rhodolph for their advocate. But the count of Hapsburgh, instigated by views of aggrandizement, endeavoured to extend his authority and influence over the two other cantons. His plan was seconded by Otho of Brunswick, raised to the Imperial throne in opposition to the House of Suabia, and who, to secure his assistance, appointed him advocate of the three cantons. But the natives would not accept him in this capacity till he had solemnly engaged to maintain their rights and respect their independence; and when the House of Suabia gained the ascendant, Frederic II., in gratitude for their attachment and fidelity to his family, prevailed on Rhodolph to resign the advocacy in exchange for the county of Rheinfelden.

Rhodolph dying in 1232, his two sons, Albert and Rhodolph, divided their inheritance. Albert obtained the territories in Argau and Alsace, with the castle of Hapsburgh, and Rhodolph the county of Cleggow, with the territories in the Brisgau, and the counties of Rheinfelden and Lauffenburgh, and fixing his residence at Lauffenburgh, became the founder of the line of Hapsburgh Lauffenburgh. Both brothers, during their lives, bore the title of Landgrave of

Alsace; but, on the death of Rhodolph, it was confined to the descendants of Albert.

Albert IV., Count of Hapsburgh, espoused Hedwige, daughter of Ulric, Count of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden, who was descended from the Dukes of Zaeringen, and allied to the Emperor Frederic II. He was not deficient in military prowess and talents: he first distinguished himself in petty contests with the neighbouring barons, and afterwards followed the banners of Frederic II. in the wars of Italy. He passed from this theatre of glory to another more distant and dangerous. The spirit of enthusiasm which had roused the powers of France and Italy to undertake a crusade against the Saracens, had spread into Germany; and many princes of the empire flocked at the head of their retainers to wrest the Holy Land from the domination of the infidels. Among these Albert of Hapsburgh was not the least distinguished. After having established a peace with the neighbouring barons, he summoned his family and followers to the convent of Muri; the former he recommended to persevere in the same sentiments of fidelity and attachment to his sons as they had displayed to him; then turning to his sons, Rhodolph and Albert, he exhorted them to cultivate truth and piety; to give no ear to evil counsellors; never to engage in unnecessary war; once engaged, to act with intrepidity and firmness; but to place their principal resource in celerity, and to prefer a peace to their own private advantages. "Be mindful," he said, "that the counts of Hapsburgh did not attain their height of reputation and glory by fraud, insolence, or selfishness; but by courage and devotion to the public weal. As long as you follow their footsteps you will not only retain, but augment the possessions and dignities of your illustrious ancestors." Having then declared his brother Rhodolph guardian of his sons during his absence, he took his departure, amidst the tears of his family, and the lamentations of his followers, proceeded at the head of thirty barons to Marseilles, from whence he embarked, and landed at Ptolemais in Syria. But Albert had no opportunity to display in the fields of Palestine that skill and prowess which he had shown in the wars of Italy; for, on his arrival, a truce was concluded with the Saracens, and he soon afterwards

fell a sacrifice to the unhealthiness of the climate, and, dying at Askalon, in 1240*, was buried in the Holy Land.

By his wife Hedwige he left three sons: Rhodolph the Great Founder of the House of Austria, Albert, a canon of Basle, and Hartman, both of whom died before their brother was called to the Imperial dignity.

Rhodolph was born in 1218, probably at the ancient castle of Limburgh, or Limper in Brisgau, on the confines of Alsace, and was presented at the font by the Emperor Frederic II., to whose House he was distantly allied. Under the auspices of his warlike father he passed his youth in the court and camp of Frederic II., and was initiated at an early age in the use of arms. He was trained to wrestling and running, was skilled in horsemanship, excelled in throwing the javelin, and being endowed with great strength and vigour, gave eminent proofs of superiority over his companions in all military exercises.

On the death of his father, Rhodolph inherited only the landgraviate of Upper Alsace, the burgraviate of Rheinfelden, and in conjunction with his brothers, succeeded to the county of Hapsburgh†, the inhabitants of which being

* This account of the early descent of the House of Hapsburgh, is principally founded on ancient deeds, instruments, and acts of donation, particularly the celebrated Acta Fundationis Murensis Monasterii, or the records of the monastery of Muri in Argau, not far from the banks of the Reuss, which was founded in 1027, by Werner, bishop of Strasburgh.

They were first adduced and quoted as written by an anonymous author in the 12th century, by Guillemannus in his Hapsburgiacum, or Treatise on the Origin of the House of Austria, published in 1605. They were given more completely in 1618, by Peireskius; and finally by Hergott, the indefatigible genealogist of the Austrian family. He however considers them as written only in the 13th century, and detects several errors in the copy; but is far from rejecting their general authenticity. His remarks occasioned a learned controversy; from which it appeared that the acts were written in the latter end of the 12th century, and the genealogy compiled in the middle of the 13th.

† Notwithstanding the laborious efforts of Fugger and Hergott, it is impossible to ascertain the exact limits of the county of Hapsburgh, when Rhodolph succeeded to his paternal inheritance, as the name was afterwards extended to all the possessions of the House of Austria in Switzerland; but it certainly comprehended only a part of the district now called the Argau. The principal towns were Bruck, Windisch, and Arau.

free, were exempted from arbitrary taxes; to some scattered domains in Suabia and Brisgau; and the advocacies or prefectureships of a few of the neighbouring towns and districts. Though in possession of such confined territories, Rhodolph followed the example of the German princes, who considered peace as inglorious, and sought to aggrandize their fortunes by pillage or conquest. He maintained a splendid establishment, formed a chosen band of troops, collected adventurers from all nations, more than his scanty revenues would support; and eager to signalize himself in arms, gave full scope to his enterprising genius. For some time he found no respite from war; he was either engaged in protecting the surrounding states from the incursions of banditti and depredations of the powerful barons, or under various pretences invading the possessions of others, and defending his own property from the encroachments of ambitious neighbours.

The first of his exploits in his native country was in 1242, against Hugh of Tuffenstein, a young baron, who had provoked his resentment by contumelious expressions. Rhodolph invested a fortress of considerable strength belonging to his adversary, and having failed in attempting to take it by storm, obtained entrance by bribing the sentinels, and made himself master of the place, notwithstanding the desperate valour of Hugh, who was killed in the defence.

He next turned his arms against his uncle and guardian Rhodolph of Lauffenburg, whom he accused of embezzling a part of his patrimony. He found, however, an intrepid and enterprising opponent in his cousin Godfrey, the son of Rhodolph: and after carrying havoc into each other's territories, the two relatives effected a reconciliation, by which Rhodolph obtained some compensation for his demands. This accommodation was succeeded by an intimate friendship between the two youthful heroes, who in this short contest had learned to admire and emulate each other.

We next find Rhodolph engaged in hostilities with his uncle Hartman, count of Kyburgh. The dominions of the House of Kyburgh were at this time jointly possessed by Hartman the elder, second son of Ulric, and his nephew Hartman the younger. In order to find resources for the

pay of his retainers, Rhodolph had obtained from his uncle a sum of money as the arrears of his mother's portion. Encouraged by the facility with which he succeeded in this demand, and pressed by his necessities, he made further exactions, and at length claimed a considerable part of the territories belonging to the two Hartmans. This claim being rejected he instantly invaded, in 1244, the dominions of Hartman the elder, occupied Baden, Winterthur, and Mersburgh, extorted a considerable largess as the price of their restoration, and a promise, that should his uncle and cousin die without issue male, the possessions of the House of Kyburgh should revert to him. By this violence he indeed obtained a sum of money for his immediate necessities; but forfeited the affections of his uncle, and nearly lost the territories which he was entitled to inherit; for Hartman, with the consent of his nephew, transferred to the bishop of Strasburgh the counties of Baden, Lentzburgh, and Kyburgh, and received them in return for himself and his nephew as fiefs of the see.

In the following year, 1245, Rhodoph enjoyed a short respite from the dangers of the field, by his marriage with Gertrude Anne, daughter of Burcard, count of Hohenberg and Hagenlock, and obtained as her dowry the castle of Oettingen, the valley of Weile, and some other domains in Alsace.

The contemporary annals are silent in regard to the actions of Rhodolph for several years subsequent to his marriage; but it is not probable that a person of so enterprising a spirit could long remain inactive. The chronicles, however, which detail his minutest actions, scarcely again mention him till the year 1253, when he, engaged with other nobles of the Imperial or Ghibeline party against Bertold, bishop of Basle, penetrated into the suburbs of the city by night, and burnt a nunnery, for which he was excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV. It was probably to obtain the revocation of this sentence, that we find him serving under Ottocar, king of Bohemia, against the Prussians, a people then in a state of paganism, who were defending their liberties, in opposition to the Teutonic knights, and against whom the pope had published a crusade. He afterwards assisted Ottocar in his war with

Bela, king of Hungary; might have been present at the battle of Cressenbrun; and perhaps had a share in the complete victory which insured to the king of Bohemia the possession of Austria and Styria, and confined Bela within the limits of Hungary.*

On his return to his native country he was involved in a series of wars in Alsace and Switzerland. Finding the bishop and citizens of Strasburgh in open hostilities against each other, he assisted the bishop, signalised himself by his valour and activity, and compelled the citizens to conclude a truce. At the same time he effected a reconciliation with his uncle Hartman, who, pleased with his change of conduct, and struck with his rising fame, endeavoured to recover from the bishop of Strasburgh the deed of donation which he had made of his territories. Rhodolph urged the same request to the bishop during the truce, recapitulated his services, and tendered his future assistance; but meeting with a refusal, he replied, "Since you pay no regard to the greatest services, and seem inclined rather to offend than conciliate your friends, Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, instead of your ally, is become your most inveterate enemy." Laying his hand on his sword, he added, "While I am master of this weapon, neither you nor any other person shall wrest from me those dominions, which I am to inherit by right of my mother; and since, in contradiction to every principle of justice, you grasp at the possessions of others, know that you shall shortly lose your own." Nor was this threat uttered in vain; for in 1259 the citizens of Strasburgh, availing themselves of the breach, requested Rhodolph to accept the supremacy of their city, and the command of their troops. He joyfully received this well-timed offer, and repairing to take possession of his new charge, the inhabitants went out in crowds to meet their deliverer,

* Some authors represent Rhodolph as master of the horse to the king of Bohemia, and as passing several years in his court. After the most assiduous researches on this subject, and after sifting and comparing the opinions and authorities on both sides of the question, it appears that Rhodolph served under Ottocar, both against the Prussians, and in Hungary; but at the same time it is highly improbable that he was master of the horse to Ottocar, or that he passed several years in the Bohemian court.

hailed him as a person sent by heaven, and considered his presence as a sure omen of victory. Nor did Rhodolph deceive their expectations; he instantly took the field, surprised Colmar, stormed the strong fortress of Mulhausen, occupied Lower Alsace, and defeated the episcopal troops with great slaughter. Chagrin, for these repeated losses and misfortunes, hurried the bishop to the grave; and his successor, Henry of Geroldsec, prudently offered to purchase a peace by renouncing all right to the dominions of Hartman, and paying a large sum for the restitution of the towns belonging to the see. Rhodolph accepted the deed of donation, but generously declined the offer of money, and restored Colmar, Mulhausen, and Lower Alsace. The citizens of Strasburgh, in gratitude to their deliverer, and in commemoration of his services, erected a statue to Rhodolph, of which some remains still exist.

Hartman the younger, dying in 1263, left by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh, count of Werdenberg, an only daughter Anne, to whom he bequeathed the counties of Burgdorf and Thun, and the city of Friburgh. In the ensuing year Hartman the elder followed his nephew to the grave; and Rhodolph, partly in his own right, and partly as guardian to Anne, took possession of the counties of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden, and all the other domains of the House of Kyburgh. By this accession of territory he sustained and increased, in Alsace, Switzerland, and the circle of the Lower Rhine, that influence which he had acquired by his civil and military talents, even when he possessed the slender inheritance derived from his father.

As inactivity was neither conformable to the spirit or circumstances of Rhodolph, his new territories furnished sufficient employment both for negotiation and action, and involved him in a series of long and almost uninterrupted hostilities. But although at this period of his life, war seems to have been his favourite and constant occupation, he did not follow the example of the turbulent barons, who harassed the peasants with incessant depredations, and pillaged defenceless travellers. On the contrary he adopted a system of conduct, which distinguished him with honour in those times of misrule and confusion. He delivered the highways from numerous banditti, and protected the

citizens and freemen from the tyranny of the nobles; he principally levelled his attacks against the turbulent barons, or the haughty prelates who concealed their ambitious designs under the sacred name of religion. Such was his reputation, and such the general opinion entertained of his justice and prowess, that he gained the confidence of the neighbouring republics. Many chose him arbiter of their internal disputes; some confided to him the command of their armies; and others appointed him their prefect and protector.

By espousing the cause of the citizens, Rhodolph acted with equal prudence and judgment. The citizens in those days were mostly soldiers, accustomed to defend their liberties against the vexations of their own nobles, and of the neighbouring barons. They were animated with an undaunted spirit; from the nature of their governments, they were more subject to control, and more obedient to military order than the lawless retainers of the nobles; and their industry and commerce supplied the means of supporting the burdens of war. From their instruction in public schools, and from the force of example, their minds were more enlightened, their comprehension keener, and they were more calculated for those ambuscades, feints, and stratagems, of which the art of war at that time principally consisted. Rhodolph, in the character of their captain, general, or advocate, won their confidence and esteem. Assisted by their spirit, and supported by their riches, he was enabled to humble the rivals of his power. The hardy mountaineers of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, who had displayed such repugnance to his ancestor Rhodolph, voluntarily appointed him their chief and protector, and were more than once indebted to him for composing their internal dissensions, checking the depredations of their nobles, and resisting the incursions of the Italian banditti. Him, therefore, to whom they were bound by ties of duty and affection, they served with the most fervent zeal, and were ever ready to descend from their mountains, and follow their gallant leader to certain victory.

Among others the citizens of Zurich, in 1265, chose him as their prefect, and invested him with the command of their troops; and this appointment involved him in a

war with the count of Regensberg, and a formidable confederacy of the neighbouring barons, which highly contributed to his subsequent greatness.

During the troubles of the interregnum in the German empire, the burghers of Zurich, which was an imperial city, had gradually acquired considerable privileges, and began to assume the administration of their own affairs. In order to strengthen themselves against the power of the nobles, they contracted alliances with the sister republics, and endeavoured to secure a protector among their neighbouring princes. For this purpose they despatched an embassy to Lutold, baron of Regensbergh, whose territories almost surrounded Zurich, and extended along the eastern shore of the lake, as far as Rapperschwl. Lutold answered the messengers with scorn: "Tell your citizens that Zurich is surrounded by my subjects as a fish in a net; let the inhabitants surrender themselves to me, and I will govern them with mildness." In this strait the citizens turned to Rhodolph of Hapsburg, who accepted their offer, repaired to Zurich, and assumed the command. Undaunted by the confederacy which Lutold had formed with the count of Tockenburgh, and other neighbouring barons, he placed his hopes of success in celerity and decision. He collected his own troops and those of Zurich; drew assistance from the cities of Alsace, and the circle of the Lower Rhine; summoned to his standard the mountaineers of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, and marched against the enemy.

In this petty warfare he displayed as much prowess and conduct, as he afterwards showed on a more conspicuous theatre. The respective forces met in the vicinity of Zurich. Rhodolph, after drawing up his men, led them himself to the attack with his usual ardour, and broke through the foremost ranks of the adversary, when he was thrown from his horse, and stunned by the violence of the fall. His troops were driven back, and the enemy surrounding him began to strip him of his armour. At this moment of danger, Muller, a citizen of Zurich, a man of great strength, flew to his assistance, protected him with his shield, and raising him from the ground, mounted him on his own horse. Rhodolph, deriving fresh courage from the imminent danger which he had just escaped, rallied his

troops, led them again to the charge, and after a great slaughter, gained a complete victory.

The confederates on this defeat changed their plan, and endeavoured to protract the war by dispersing their troops in their numerous fortresses, and by harassing the town of Zurich and the territories of Hapsburgh with continual depredations. But this plan, however judicious, was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Rhodolph, who showed himself no less skilful in besieging, or adroit in surprising their fortresses, than he had before proved his courage in the field. He captured the castles of Glanzenbergh, Balder, and Utlebergh, which were posts of considerable importance from their commanding situation and vicinity to Zurich. He sent a select body of men down the Limmat, on the bank of which Glanzenbergh was situated, to land secretly near the castle. The boatmen then threw clothes into the river, and raised a loud outcry as if their vessel had been overset; and when the garrison hastened to the spot in hopes of plunder, the men in ambuscade rushed into the castle, and captured it without resistance.

He was not less fortunate in surprising Balder, a castle situated on the Albis. Selecting thirty horsemen and as many foot soldiers, he represented to them the danger and glory of the undertaking, and demanded if they would follow him as their leader. The whole troop unanimously exclaiming that they were ready to conquer or die with him, he mounted the foot soldiers behind the horsemen, and ascended the Albis. Approaching the fortress he concealed the infantry in a thicket, and with the horse advancing close to the walls, he and his small troop defied the garrison, brandishing their swords, and using the most contumelious expressions and reproachful gestures. Those on the ramparts, seeing only thirty men, were fired at this insult, and rushed out against them with a resolution to chastise their insolence. As they advanced Rhodolph and his party retreated, and were pursued beyond the thickets where the ambuscade was posted. At this instant the horse rallied, and the infantry starting up, the whole body with a loud shout rushed to the charge; the enemy, terrified and thrown into confusion, were totally discomfited, the victorious troops seized the gates, slew or took prisoners the remainder

of the garrison, and the fortress was levelled to the ground.

With equal address Rhodolph obtained possession of Utleberg. Learning that a body of men mounted on grey horses, issued daily from the castle, either for hunting or plunder, he mounted the same number of his own troops on similar horses. On the approach of evening, this party affected to fly towards the castle, as if pursued by a corps from Zurich, and the deluded garrison throwing open their gates to receive their supposed friends, the fort was taken and demolished. "Facts like these," justly observes the historian of Switzerland, "are far better illustrations of a character, than whole pages of descriptive qualities."*

After a series of similar stratagems, sieges, and other engagements, his arms were crowned with repeated successes; and the confederate barons, struck with terror, exclaimed, "All opposition is fruitless! Rhodolph is invincible!" They renounced their league with the count of Regensberg, and obtained peace on easy terms. Lutold, thus deserted, was compelled to supplicate those enemies whom he had despised and insulted, and purchased a cessation of hostilities by ceding to Zurich great part of his remaining territories. He lived to experience that protection which he had refused, was enrolled among the burghers, received an annual pension, and terminated his days as a private citizen in that very republic of which he had refused to become the head.

Before Rhodolph had succeeded in crushing this confederacy, he was threatened with hostilities by Bertold of Falkenstein, abbot of St. Gallen, a powerful and ambitious prelate.

Rhodolph had no sooner taken possession of the inheritance of the House of Kyburgh, than he was summoned by the abbot to do homage for certain fiefs held under his monastery. On his neglect or refusal to comply with the summons, the indignant prelate, in 1272, led a considerable body of troops to Wyle, on the borders of Tockenburgh, with a view to invade his territories, and compel him to render homage. Rhodolph prepared to repulse this aggression, when he received intelligence from Alsace that the

* Planta, vol. i. p. 115.

citizens of Basle, instigated by their bishop, had risen at the conclusion of a tournament given by his cousin the count of Lauffenburgh, and massacred several nobles of his family and party. He was roused by this act of treachery, yet being involved in hostilties with two powerful barons, and menaced by the abbot of St. Gallen, he could not fly to Basle to avenge the murder of his relatives and friends. But he had learnt to curb his enterprising spirit, and to bend to circumstances. He summoned his confidential followers, and thus addressed them: "On one side I am drawn by my own interest, and on the other by the earnest solicitations of my friends. I have hitherto withheld my homage for the fiefs which my uncle Hartman possessed, and which form part of my just inheritance; but let every man who has two powerful enemies, reconcile himself to one of them; if, therefore, you deem it more noble, as I do, to avenge injuries offered to our friends, than to pursue our own interests, let us make peace with the abbot." His followers, approving his design, proposed that a person should be deputed to settle the difference by arbitration. "In truth," exclaimed Rhodolph, "there is no need of any arbitrator; the business must be settled instantly; and I will be my own mediator." With the confidence of a great mind, he mounted his horse, and, accompanied by only six attendants, rode across the fields and bye-paths to Wyle, where the abbot was sitting at table with a numerous body of knights and nobles. He presented himself at the door, and requested admittance. When the porter announced Rhodolph Count of Hapsburgh, the abbot conceived it to be a mistake, or a frolic of one of the guests; but was soon undeceived and astonished by the appearance of Rhodolph himself, who ventured, unarmed and unattended, amidst a body of men assembled to make war against him." "I am come," said the gallant warrior, "to terminate our quarrel. You are my liege lord, and I am your vassal; you are not unacquainted with the reasons which have hitherto prevented me from receiving my fiefs at your hands. Enough of contention; I am willing to refer the cause to arbitration, to acknowledge your rights, and now declare that there shall be no war between the Abbot of St. Gallen and Rhodolph of Hapsburgh." The

abbot, affected with this frank and gallant behaviour, received him with open arms, and invited him to table. During the repast, Rhodolph related the unfortunate termination of the tournament at Basle, and described the fury of the people and the arrogance of the bishop in such glowing terms, as excited the resentment of all who were present. Observing the effect of his appeal, he still further roused their feelings by exclaiming, "The duty of knighthood compels me to neglect all other considerations, that I may take vengeance on the people of Basle and their Italian bishop, for the knights and nobles whom they have insulted and massacred." The company unanimously cried out, "It is the cause of the whole nobility!" and the abbot of Gallen and his followers tendered their assistance.

Rhodolph thus converted an enemy into a friend, and employed against the bishop those very troops which had been assembled against himself. He led these nobles, the soldiers of Zurich, the Swiss mountaineers, and his own faithful warriors to the gates of Basle, and soon forced the citizens to promise satisfaction, and deliver hostages. He next turned his arms against the bishop himself, who, considering the Rhine as an effectual barrier against the incursions of his adversary, derided his efforts. But Rhodolph passing this broad and rapid river by a portable bridge of boats, an invention which he seems to have first revived since the time of the ancients, wrested from him all his territories beyond the walls of Basle, put to flight or exterminated his peasants; burnt his houses and villages, and laid waste his forests and corn fields. In this deplorable situation the bishop sued for and obtained a truce of twenty-four days, during which time the difference was to be settled by arbitration, or the war to be renewed.

Chap. II. 1273—1275.

Rhodolph was encamped before the walls of Basle waiting for the expiration of the truce. Having retired to his tent, he was awakened at midnight by his nephew Frederic of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nurenberg, with the intelligence that he was unanimously chosen king of the Romans by the electors of Germany. In the first moments of surprise, Rhodolph could not give credit to this unexpected intelligence; and even expressed his indignation against the burgrave for attempting to deceive and insult him. Convinced, however, by his solemn protestations, and by letters from the electors, he recovered from his surprise, and joyfully accepted the proffered dignity. The news of his election being quickly disseminated, the citizens of Basle opened their gates, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishop. "We have taken arms," they said, "against Rhodolph Count of Hapsburgh, and not against the King of the Romans." The bishop acceded to terms of peace, the prisoners on both sides were released, and Rhodolph's followers admitted in triumph. The new sovereign was received amidst general acclamations; the citizens took the oath of fidelity, and presented him with a considerable largess towards defraying the expenses of his coronation. The bishop, chagrined at the success and elevation of his rival, struck his forehead with vexation, and profanely exclaimed, "Sit fast, great God, or Rhodolph will occupy thy throne!" *

Before we proceed, we deem it necessary to consider the situation of Germany, and the causes which concurred to raise Rhodolph to the imperial throne by means unknown to himself. While in many other countries of Europe the exorbitant power of the barons had been in some measure restrained, the royal authority enlarged, and internal tranquillity established, Germany was almost a continued scene of discord, rapine, and confusion; the greater

* "Sede fortiter, Domine Deus, vel locum Rudolfus occupabit tuum!" Albert. Argent. p. 100.

princes, unable to curb the increasing power and licentious spirit of the barons, had no influence on the distant provinces, and the whole country, divided into a number of independent sovereignties and parties, no longer formed an empire acting upon one general system. The principal chiefs were powerful and enterprising, incessantly employed in attacking their neighbours or defending their own territories; while the smaller states and lesser barons followed the standards of one or other, as they were swayed by their interests or by the hopes of security.

This deplorable state of anarchy was originally owing to the disputes between the Popes and the Emperors of the House of Suabia, and to the gradual decline of the imperial power, which was almost totally annihilated on the death of Conrad IV., and could not be recovered by such phantoms of sovereign authority as William of Holland, and Richard earl of Cornwall.* The authority of Richard, who obtained the imperial dignity by corruption, not by personal influence, weak in itself, was still further weakened by the counter election of Alphonso King of Castile, and by his almost continual absence. Although Richard undoubtedly performed many acts of sovereignty, and was acknowledged as supreme head of the empire by the greater part of the princes and states, yet he was more a nominal than an effective chief; and, during his reign, Germany suffered evils scarcely less deplorable than those which were experienced in a vacancy of the imperial throne.

The death of Richard, in 1271, was followed by a real interregnum of two years, a period of almost unparalleled anarchy. Contemporary writers, describing the distress of the times, exclaim, in the language of Scripture, "In those days there was no king in Israel, and every one did that which was right in his own eyes." The Archbishop of Cologne, in a letter to the Pope, adopted the sublime imagery of Holy Writ, to describe the desolation of Germany, "The earth mourned and languished, Mount Libanon was shaken from its foundations, and the moon was turned into blood." He compared the state of the country before the

* Brother of Henry III., king of England. See Gebauer's Leben und Thaten Richard Ehrwalten Romischen Kaysers, a curious and authentic account of the life and reign of Richard of Cornwall.

election of Rhodolph to a winter night, full of darkness and dangers, and the commencement of his reign to the return of a genial spring.

With a policy far different from that of the former popes, who wished to perpetuate the troubles of Germany, Gregory X. refused to acknowledge Alphonso King of Castile, in virtue of his former election, and threatened to nominate a king of the Romans himself, if the electors suffered the interregnum to continue; and to prevent the fatal consequences of a double election, the most powerful of the imperial cities confederated for the security of the public peace, and agreed to acknowledge no king, who was not unanimously chosen. These circumstances, in addition to the divided and jarring interests of the electors, contributed to protract and embarrass the choice of a chief of the empire.

In this unfavourable aspect of affairs, the electors met at Frankfort in September 1273, and two candidates presented themselves, Alphonso King of Castile, and Ottocar King of Bohemia; but, contrary to all expectation, the nomination fell on Rhodolph, Count of Hapsburgh.

Many circumstances contributed to favour his advancement, among which the most effectual were, the views and interests of the seven electors, by whom the right of nomination was at this time assumed; namely, the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the King of Bohemia, Otho Margrave of Brandenburgh, Albert Duke of Saxony, and Louis Duke of Bavaria, and Count Palatine, who seems to have possessed a joint vote with his brother Henry. Of these, the most strenuous in the cause of Rhodolph was Werner of Eppenstein, Elector of Mentz. On his nomination to the archi-episcopal see of Mentz, Werner had repaired to Rome, in order to receive the confirmation of his office, and the pallium from the hands of the Pope; and as the road was infested with banditti, he was escorted by Rhodolph himself across the Alps, and treated on his return with equal cordiality and magnificence. Werner, captivated by his attentions, character, and talents, expressed a wish that he might live to repay the obligation. Such an opportunity now presented itself, and Werner used all his influence to secure the nomination

of Rhodolph. He secretly gained the electors of Cologne and Treves; and found means to influence the secular electors, by the prospect of a matrimonial alliance with their future chief, who had six daughters unmarried. His intrigues and recommendation were strongly supported by Frederic of Hohenzollern, the friend and relation of Rhodolph, who had great influence with the secular electors, contributed to remove all obstacles, and concluded the negotiation in his name.

The peculiar situation of Louis the Severe, Duke of Bavaria, induced him to accept the hand of Matilda, eldest daughter of Rhodolph. He had espoused Mary princess of Brabant, and on a vague suspicion of infidelity had put her to death. Although he had received absolution from Pope Alexander IV., on condition of founding a convent of Chartreux, yet discontents still prevailing among the Bavarian nobles, who were convinced of Mary's innocence, rendered him apprehensive of the interference of a future emperor. For this reason he received with joy the proposal of Matilda in marriage; and agreed to support the nomination of a prince, whose interests would be thus strongly connected with his own. Two of the other secular electors, Albert of Saxony and Otho of Brandenburgh, were likewise gained by the hope of espousing Agnes and Hedwige.

The character and situation of the Count of Hapsburgh were admirably suited to the emergency, and to the views of the electors, who desired an emperor, but dreaded a master. His great civil and military talents rendered him a fit person to direct the reins of government, while from the comparatively small extent of his possessions, he was not deemed sufficiently powerful to wrest from the electors those fiefs which they had appropriated during the troubles of the empire, or to rule Germany with the same despotic sway as the great chiefs of the Houses of Franconia and Suabia.

Werner having succeeded in obtaining six voices artfully proposed that the princes should abide by the nomination of Louis of Bavaria. He either gained the consent of the Bohemian ambassadors to this compromise, by insinuating that the choice would fall on Ottocar, or prevailed

on the other electors to reject his vote, and to allow two voices to the Bavarian princes. Louis accordingly nominated Rhodolph of Hapsburgh; the protests and remonstrances of the Bohemian ambassadors were disregarded, and the election of Rhodolph declared unanimous by the concurrence of the seven electors.* The new King of the Romans was inaugurated at Aix-la-Chapelle, with the ancient crown of Charlemagne; and the ceremony was followed by the marriage of his two daughters, Matilda and Agnes, with Louis of Bavaria and Albert Duke of Saxony, which increased his weight and influence, and secured to him the assistance of those powerful princes.

Rhodolph was fifty-five years of age when he ascended the Imperial throne, and he proved by a series of great and glorious actions, that he was born for royalty. The change in his situation neither altered nor corrupted his heart, but opened a larger field for the exercise of his exalted qualities, which had hitherto been confined on a narrow theatre.

His situation was full of difficulty and danger. He was threatened with the vengeance of his disappointed rival

* Rhodolph, in his letters to the Pope, as well as in his decrees and public acts, declares his election unanimous; and this circumstance is allowed by the Pope, and by all contemporary and subsequent writers. Great difference of opinion however has arisen respecting the mode by which this unanimity was obtained. All agree that only seven electors possessed the right of voting; some argue that Ottocar, as arch cup-bearer, was entitled to a vote; some, that he was not allowed to vote, because he was not a German; some, that he exercised a vote only when the other six electors were of different opinions, and some, that he was induced to agree to this compromise, and that his protest was afterwards disregarded. Those who wholly reject the vote of Ottocar maintain, that Louis Count Palatine, with his brother Henry Duke of Lower Bavaria, possessed two voices.

A decree was published by Rhodolph at the diet of Augsburgh in 1275, to settle a disputed claim which seems to have arisen between Ottocar and Henry respecting the right of voting at the election of a king of the Romans; but this decree is so obscurely worded as to leave the question still a matter of doubt whether the two Bavarian princes possessed one or two votes. In 1290, however, this claim was finally decided, for Rhodolph then confirmed the electorate and arch office of cup-bearer to Wenceslaus, son of Ottocar; yet it is remarkable that he does not acknowledge this right as possessed by Ottocar, but by his ancestors. By the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV only a single electoral vote was allowed to the Palatine branch.

Ottocar, and he was opposed by the Anti-Cæsar, Alphonso of Castile; both of whom refused to acknowledge his election, and sent ambassadors with large presents, to obtain the countenance of the Pope. Fully sensible therefore of the perils with which he was surrounded, Rhodolph did not rely on the unanimity of his election, nor on his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle; but turned his first and principal attention to secure the ratification of the reigning pontiff. On the first news of his election, he despatched a letter to Gregory X. "The Roman empire," he said, "having been some time vacant, the electors, who have long possessed the right of choosing a King of the Romans, met at the appointed time and place; and although there were many of much higher rank, and much greater merit than myself, yet, after mature deliberation, they raised me to the Imperial dignity, and even solicited my consent, with considerable importunity. Conscious, however, of my own deficiency, and trembling with astonishment and fear, I hesitated whether I should accept so eminent a situation; until at length trusting in Him, who, in the high and ineffable decrees of His providence, changes as He wills the condition of mortals, adds strength to the feeble, and gives eloquence to the simple, I assumed courage sufficient to venture, weak as I am, upon so laborious and difficult an office, hoping that neither the grace of God, nor the favour of His Holy Church, nor your paternal affection will be wanting to me. Turning, therefore, all my thoughts to Him, under whose authority we live, and placing all my expectations on you alone, I fall down before the feet of your Holiness, beseeching you, with the most earnest supplications, to favour me with your accustomed kindness in my present undertaking; and that you will deign, by your mediation with the Most High, to support my cause, which I may truly call the cause of the whole German empire, that He may condescend to direct my steps according to His will, and lead me in the ways of His commandments. That I may be enabled, therefore, successfully to perform what is most acceptable to Him and to his Holy Church, may it graciously please your Holiness to crown me with the Imperial diadem; for I trust I am both able and willing to

undertake and accomplish whatever you and the Holy Church shall think proper to impose upon me.

Fortunately for the interests of Rhodolph, and the peace of Germany, Gregory X. was prudent, humane, and generous, and from a long experience of worldly affairs had acquired a profound knowledge of men and manners. An ardent zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith was the leading feature of his character, and the object of his greatest ambition was to lead an army of crusaders against the infidels. To the accomplishment of this purpose he directed his aims; and, like a true father of Christendom, was anxious to appease instead of fomenting the troubles of Europe, and to consolidate the union of the German States, which it had been the policy of his predecessors to divide and disunite. By the most insinuating address he knew how to conciliate the affections of those who approached him; and to bend to his purpose the most steady opposition; and he endeavoured to gain by extreme affability, and the mildness of his deportment, what his predecessors had extorted by the most extravagant pretensions.

The ambassadors of Rhodolph were received with complacency by the Pope, and obtained his sanction by agreeing in the name of their master to the same conditions which Otho IV. and Frederic II. had sworn to observe, by confirming all the donations of the emperors, his predecessors, to the papal see; by promising to accept no office or dignity in any of the papal territories, particularly in the city of Rome, without the consent of the Pope; by agreeing not to disturb, nor permit the house of Anjou to be disturbed in the possession of Naples and Sicily, which they held as fiefs from the Roman see *; and by engaging to

* The Popes, from simple bishops of Rome, had gradually acquired considerable territorial possessions, either by donations, bequests, or usurpations. Among these, the most remarkable were the pretended gifts by Pepin and Charlemagne, of an undefined and considerable territory in Lombardy, under the name of the Exarchate of Ravenna; the bequest made by Matilda Countess of Tuscany, of the whole territories which she had either in possession or reversion; and of various bequests and donations of less importance. In consequence of these titles the Roman see had claimed and appropriated the provinces which afterwards formed the State of the Church. But their claims being contested by the emperors, many of these provinces were alternately occupied by the see of Rome, and the chiefs of the empire. At

undertake in person a crusade against the infidels. In consequence of these concessions, Gregory gave the new king of the Romans his most cordial support, refused to listen to the overtures of Ottocar, and after much difficulty

length Innocent III. obtained (in 1200) from Otho IV., whom he supported against the House of Suabia, the celebrated capitulation or promise, that he would restore to the Church the lands which it claimed in virtue of the donations of his predecessors, and of the bequest of the Countess Matilda. These were specified to be the territory of Radicofani as far as Ciperano, the March of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the lands of the Countess Matilda, the county of Bertinoro, the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and whatsoever was expressed in various privileges of the emperors and kings, from the time of Louis the Pious. The same conditions were afterwards extorted from Frederic II. in his capitulation of 1220. — *Muratori.*

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, which in this agreement appear as fiefs of the Roman see, had been conquered from the Saracens and Greek emperors by the sons of Tancred of Hauteville, the celebrated Norman adventurers. They were erected into a kingdom by a papal bull, and Roger II., grandson of Tancred, received the investiture from the Pope, with the title of King of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria. After the extinction of the male line, the investiture was conferred by the Pope on Frederic II., in right of his mother, Constantia, daughter of Roger. He transferred the royal residence from Palermo to Naples, and is first distinguished as King of Naples and Sicily. Conrad succeeded his father Frederic in the empire, and in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and died after a short and turbulent reign of four years, leaving an infant son Conradin. He appointed the Marquis of Hennebruth guardian of the realm; but that office being claimed by the Pope, the country was threatened with a civil war. In this crisis, Manfred, natural son of Frederic II., assumed the reins of government, with the unanimous consent of the nation, and maintained himself on the throne by his courage and abilities. The Pope accordingly, usurping that plenitude of authority which deposed monarchs and conferred kingdoms, bestowed the sovereignty on Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., King of France. Charles levied an army, received the investiture from the Holy See, and promised to pay tribute, to accept no other crown either in Germany or Italy, and to assist the Church, if attacked, with 300 knights, and at least 900 horsemen. His efforts were crowned with success; Manfred fell in the battle of Benevento (1266), and Charles took possession of the throne. He afterwards defeated Conradin, the rightful heir, at the battle of Taliocotsko, and having made him prisoner, caused him to be publicly beheaded at Naples, in 1269, together with Frederic Duke of Austria, who had assisted him in the attempt to recover his patrimony.

The illustrious House of Suabia being thus extinct in the person of Conradin, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were established as a papal fief in the House of Anjou. — *Giannone* — *Muratori.*

finally succeeded in persuading Alphonso to renounce his pretensions to the Imperial dignity.

An interview in Oct. 1275, between Rhodolph and Gregory at Lausanne, concluded his negotiations with the Roman see, and gave rise to a personal friendship between the heads of the Church and the empire, who were equally distinguished for their frank and amiable qualities. In this interview Rhodolph publicly ratified the articles which his ambassadors had concluded in his name; the electors and princes who were present followed his example, and Gregory again confirmed the election of Rhodolph, on condition that he should repair to Rome the following year, to receive the Imperial crown.* At the conclusion of this ceremony, the new emperor, with his consort and the princes of the empire, assumed the cross, and engaged to undertake a crusade against the Infidels.

During the negotiations of Rhodolph with Gregory X., Ottocar had exerted himself to shake the authority of the new chief of the empire, and to consolidate a confederacy with the German princes. He not only rejected with disdain all the proposals of accommodation made at the instances of Rhodolph, by the judicious and conciliating pontiff, but prevented the clergy of Bohemia from contributing the tenths of their revenues, or preaching the crusade. He endeavoured to alarm the princes of the empire, by displaying the views of the new sovereign, to recover the imperial fiefs which they had appropriated during the interregnum, and by his promises and intrigues succeeded in attaching to his cause the Margrave of Baden, and the Counts of Friburgh, Neuburgh and Montfort. But he secured a still more powerful partisan in Henry Duke of Lower Bavaria, by fomenting the disputes between him and his brother the Count Palatine, and by ceding to him Scharding and other places wrested from Bavaria by the Dukes of Austria.

When summoned by Rhodolph to do homage for his fiefs, according to the custom of the empire, he returned a

* Although Rhodolph was never crowned at Rome, and therefore never assumed any other title than that of King of the Romans, I shall in future follow the example of other historians, by occasionally styling him and his successors emperors.

haughty answer, treating him as count of Hapsburgh; a second summons was received with silent contempt; on a third he sent his ambassador, the bishop of Seccau, to the diet of Augsburgh; and his example was followed by Henry of Bavaria. These ministers were, however, only deputed to raise a feigned contest relative to the vote of Henry, and to protest against the election of Rhodolph. The ambassador of Henry urged the protest with moderation and respect; but the bishop of Seccau delivered a virulent invective against the chief of the empire, in a style conformable to the spirit and character of his powerful and haughty master. He declared that the assembly in which Rhodolph had been chosen was illegal; that the arbitration of Louis of Bavaria was unprecedented; that a man, excommunicated by the pope for plundering churches and convents, was ineligible to the Imperial throne; and that his sovereign, who held his dominions by an indisputable title, owed no homage to the count of Hapsburgh. As he spoke in the Latin tongue, the emperor interrupted him with a dignified rebuke; "Bishop," he said, "if you were to harangue in an ecclesiastical consistory, you might use the Latin tongue; but when discoursing upon my rights and the rights of the princes of the empire, why do you employ a language which the greater part of those who are present do not comprehend?" The rebuke of the sovereign justly roused the indignation of the assembly: the princes, and particularly the Elector Palatine, started from their seats, and were scarcely prevented from employing violence, even by the interposition of Rhodolph; and the ambassadors, quitting the assembly, retired from Augsburgh.

The diet, irritated by this insult, passed a decree, asserting the unanimity of Rhodolph's election; they declared Ottocar guilty of contumacy; required him to restore Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which he had usurped, and to do homage for the remainder of his dominions. In case of refusal the ban of the empire was denounced against him, and supplies of men and money were voted to support their sovereign, to assert the Imperial dignity, and to reduce the rebellious princes to obedience. The burgrave of Nuremberg, and the bishop of Basle were despatched to Ottocar in the name of the diet, to demand his

instant acknowledgment of Rhodolph as king of the Romans, and the restitution of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. They accordingly repaired to Prague, and delivered their message. "Tell Rhodolph," replied the spirited monarch, "that he may rule over the territories of the empire, but I will not tamely yield those possessions which I have acquired at the expense of so much blood and treasure; they are mine by marriage, by purchase, or by conquest." He then broke out into bitter invectives against Rhodolph, and after tauntingly expressing his surprise that a petty count of Hapsburgh should have been preferred to so many powerful candidates, dismissed the ambassadors with contempt. In the heat of his resentment he even violated the laws of nations, and put to death the heralds who announced to him the resolutions of the diet, and delivered the ban of the empire.

During this whole transaction, Rhodolph acted with becoming prudence, and extreme circumspection. He had endeavoured by the mildest methods to bring Ottocar to terms of conciliation; and when all his overtures were received with insult and contempt, and hostilities became inevitable, he did not seek a distant war till he had obtained the full confirmation of the pope, and had reestablished the peace of those parts of the empire which bordered on his own dominions. He first attacked the petty adherents of Ottocar, the margrave of Baden, and the counts of Friburgh, Montfort, and Neuburgh, and having compelled them to do homage, and to restore the fiefs which they had appropriated during the preceding troubles, he prepared to turn his whole force against the king of Bohemia, with a solicitude which the power and talents of his formidable rival naturally inspired.

CHAP. III. 1275—1286.

THE contest, in which Rhodolph was about to engage, was of a nature to call forth all his resources and talents. Ottocar was a prince of high spirit great abilities, and distinguished military skill, which had been exercised in

constant warfare from his early youth. By hereditary right he succeeded to Bohemia and Moravia, and to these territories he had made continual additions by his crusades against the Prussians, his contests with the kings of Hungary, and still more by his recent acquisition of Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola.

In the tenth century Austria, with Styria and Carniola, under the title of a Margraviate, were governed by Leopold I. of the House of Bamberg. It continued in the possession of his family, and in 1156 was erected into an independent duchy, by the emperor Frederic II. and conferred on Henry, fifth in descent from Leopold, as an indivisible and inalienable fief; in failure of male issue it was made descendible to his eldest daughter; and, in failure of female issue, disposable by will. In 1245, Frederic the Warlike, last duke of the Bamberg line, obtained a confirmation of this decree; but, dying in the ensuing year without issue, and without disposing of his territories by will, a dispute arose relative to his succession. The claimants were his two sisters, Margaret, widow of Henry VII. king of the Romans *, and Constantia, wife of Henry the Illustrious, margrave of Misnia; and his niece Gertrude, daughter of Henry, his elder brother, the wife of Premislaus, eldest son of Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and brother of Ottocar. But on the plea that neither of the claimants were daughters of the last duke, the Emperor Frederic II. sequestrated these territories as fiefs escheating to the empire, and transferred the administration to Otho, Count of Werdenberg, who took possession of the country, and resided at Vienna.

As this event happened during the contest between the See of Rome and the House of Suabia, Innocent IV., who had deposed and excommunicated Frederic, laid Austria under an interdict, and encouraged the kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and the Duke of Bavaria to invade the country. The pope first patronised the claims of Margaret, and urged her to marry a German prince; but, on her application to the emperor to bestow the duchy on her eldest

* He was deposed in 1232, for rebellion against his father, and died in prison in 1242.

son Frederic, he supported Gertrude, who, after the death of Premislaus, had espoused Herman, margrave of Baden, nephew of Otho, duke of Bavaria, and induced the Anti-Cæsar, William of Holland, to grant him the investiture.

On the demise of Frederic II. his son Conrad was too much occupied with the affairs of Italy, to attend to those of Germany; the Imperial troops quitted Austria, and Herman dying, Otho of Bavaria occupied that part of Austria which lies above the Elms. But Wenceslaus of Bohemia, prevailing on the states to choose his eldest surviving son Ottocar as their sovereign, under the condition that he should espouse Margaret, expelled the Bavarians, and took possession of the whole country. Gertrude fled to Bela, king of Hungary, whose uncle Roman, a Russian prince, she married, and ceded to him her pretensions on Styria, on condition that he should assert her right to Austria. A war ensued between Ottocar and the king of Hungary, in which Ottocar being defeated, was compelled to cede part of Styria to Stephen, son of Bela, and a small district of that country was appropriated for the maintenance of Gertrude. But the Hungarian governors being guilty of the most enormous exactions, the natives of Styria rose, and transferred their allegiance to Ottocar, who secured that duchy, by defeating Bela at Cressenbrun, and by the treaty of peace which followed that victory. Ottocar had scarcely obtained possession of Styria, before he deprived Gertrude of her small pittance; and the unfortunate princess took refuge from his tyranny in a convent of Misnia.* Having thus secured Austria and Styria, and ascended the throne of Bohemia, Ottocar divorced Margaret, who was much older than himself; and to acquire that right to the succession of Frederic the Warlike, which he had lost by this separation from his wife, he, in 1262, procured from Richard of Cornwall the investiture of Austria, Styria, and Carniola, as fiefs devolved to the empire. He either promised, or gave some compensation to Agnes,

* She died some time after the execution of her son Frederic, titular duke of Austria, who was beheaded at Naples in 1268, and left her pretensions to her only surviving daughter Agnes, wife, first of Ulric duke of Carinthia and Carniola, and afterwards of Ulric count of Huenberg.

daughter of Gertrude by Herman of Baden, and to Henry, margrave of Misnia, husband of Constantia.

Ottocar next purchased of Ulric, duke of Carinthia and Carniola, who had no issue, the right of succeeding to those duchies on his death. In the deed of transfer, instituted December, 1268, Ulric describes himself as without heirs; although his brother Philip, archbishop of Saltzburgh, was still living. On the death of Ulric, in 1269 or 1270, Ottocar took possession of those duchies, defeated Philip, who asserted his claims, and forced the natives to submit to his authority.

By these accessions of territory, Ottocar became the most powerful prince of Europe. For his dominions extended from the confines of Bavaria to Raab in Hungary, and from the Adriatic to the shores of the Baltic.* On the contrary, the hereditary possessions of Rhodolph were comparatively inconsiderable, remote from the scene of contest, and scattered at the foot of the Alps, and in the mountains of Alsace and Suabia; and though head of the empire, he was seated on a tottering throne, and feebly supported by the princes of Germany, who raised him to that exalted dignity, to render him their chief rather in name than in power.

Although the princes and states of the empire had voted succours, many had failed in their promised assistance, and had the war been protracted, those few would have infallibly deserted a cause, in which their own interests were not materially concerned. The wise but severe regulations of Rhodolph for extirpating the banditti, demolishing the fortresses of the turbulent barons, and recovering the fiefs which several of the princes had unjustly appropriated, excited great discontents. Under these circumstances the powerful and imperious Ottocar cannot be deemed rash for venturing to contend with a petty count of Switzerland, whom he compared to those phantoms of sovereignty, William of Holland and Richard of Cornwall, or that he should conclude a king of Bohemia to be more powerful than an emperor. The event, how-

* During his crusade against the Prussians, Konigsberg on the Baltic was built, and received in his honour the name of Konigsberg, or King's Mount.

ever, showed that he had judged too hastily of his own strength, and of Rhodolph's comparative weakness ; and proved that when the reins of government were held by an able hand, the resources of the empire were still considerable, and its enmity an object of terror.

Rhodolph derived considerable support from his sons-in-law the electors Palatine and Saxony, and from the elector of Brandenburgh ; the burgrave of Nurenberg, the nobles of Alsace and Suabia, and the citizens and mountaineers of Switzerland. Having made the necessary preparations, he, with a judicious policy, turned his attention to those princes, who from the vicinity of their dominions were in a state of continual enmity, or warfare, with the king of Bohemia. He concluded a treaty with Ladislaus king of Hungary ; and strengthened the bond of union by betrothing his daughter to Andrew duke of Sclavonia, and brother of Ladislaus. He entered into an alliance with Meinhard count of Tyrol, which he cemented by the marriage of his eldest son Albert, with Elizabeth, daughter of Meinhard. But his views were still more promoted by the general discontent which pervaded every part of the Austrian dominions, and by the anathemas of Philip, titular duke of Carinthia and archbishop of Saltzburgh, who absolved the people of his diocese from their oath of allegiance, and exhorted them to shake off the yoke of a tyrant, and receive the chief of the empire.

The prelate made repeated exhortations to Rhodolph to hasten his expedition. He drew a hideous picture of Ottocar's oppressions ; expatiated on the discontents of the natives, and their inveterate hatred to the Bohemians, and used all his eloquence to encourage the king of the Romans to invade the country. "I observe," he says, "the countenances of your adversaries pale with terror, their strength is withered ; they fear you unknown ; your image is terrible in their imaginations ; and they tremble even at the very mention of your name. How then will they act, and how will they tremble when they hear the voice of the approaching thunder, when they see the imperial eagles rushing down on them like the flash of the lightning!"

The plan formed by Rhodolph for the prosecution of

the war was calculated to divide the forces, and distract the attention of Ottocar. He himself was to penetrate into Bohemia, while his son was to invade Austria, and Meinhard of Tyrol to make a diversion on the side of Styria. To oppose this threatened invasion, Ottocar assembled a considerable army, sent a reinforcement to Henry of Bavaria, augmented the garrison of Closter Neuburgh, a fortress deemed impregnable, fortified Vienna, and despatched a considerable part of his army towards Teppel, to secure his frontier; but, resigning himself to supineness and careless security, he passed that time which should have been employed in repressing the discontented by his presence, and rousing the courage of his troops, in hunting and courtly diversions.

Rhodolph, apprised of these dispositions, changed his plan, marched against Henry of Bavaria, and compelled him by force of arms to desert the Bohemian alliance. He meditated a reconciliation between the duke and his brother the Count Palatine; and to secure his co-operation, gave his daughter Hedwige in marriage to Otho, son of Henry, with the promise of assigning a part of Upper Austria, as a pledge for her portion. This success opened to him a way into Austria. Accompanied by Henry with a reinforcement of 1000 horse, he traversed Lower Bavaria, by Ratisbon and Passau; overran that part of Austria which lies to the south of the Danube without resistance, was received with joy by the natives, and rapidly marched towards Vienna.

This well-concerted expedition bore rather the appearance of a journey than a conquest; and Ottocar, awakened from his lethargy, received the intelligence with astonishment and terror. He now found even his ally Henry, in whose assistance he had confided, serving with his enemies, his Austrian territories invaded by a powerful army, the people hailing the king of the Romans as their deliverer, and the adversary, whom he had despised and insulted, in the very heart of his dominions. In these circumstances he recalled his army from Teppel, and led them through the woods and mountains of Bohemia to Drosendorf, on the frontiers of Austria, with the hope of saving the capital. But his troops being harassed by the fatigues of

this long and difficult march, and distressed for want of provisions, he was unable to continue his progress; while Rhodolph, advancing along the southern bank of the Danube, made himself master of Kloster Neuburgh by stratagem, and encamped under the walls of Vienna. Here being joined by Meinhard of Tyrol, who had overrun Styria and Carinthia, and drawn the natives to his standard, he laid siege to the city. The garrison and people, who were warmly attached to Ottocar, and encouraged with the hopes of speedy relief, held out for five weeks; at length the want of provisions, and the threats of Rhodolph to destroy the vineyards, excited a tumult among the people, and the governor proposed a capitulation.

During this time the discontents in Ottocar's army increased with their increasing distress; he was threatened by the approach of the Hungarians towards the Austrian frontiers; he saw his own troops alarmed, dispirited, and mutinous; and he was aware, that on the surrender of the capital, Rhodolph had prepared a bridge of boats to cross the Danube, and carry the war into Bohemia.* In this situation, surrounded by enemies, embarrassed by increasing difficulties, deserted or opposed by his nobles, his haughty spirit was compelled to bend; he sued for peace, and the conditions were arranged by the arbitration of the bishop of Olmutz, the elector Palatine, and the burgrave of Nurenberg. It was agreed, on the 22nd of November, 1276, that the sentence of excommunication and deprivation, which had been pronounced against Ottocar and his adherents, should be revoked; that he should renounce all his claims to Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Windischmark; that he should take the oath of allegiance, do homage for the remainder of his territories to the head of the empire, and should receive the investiture of Bohemia, Moravia, and his other fiefs. An article was also inserted, by which Ottocar promised to deliver up to Ladis-

* The superior skill of Rhodolph in the art of war surprised both his friends and enemies. But nothing seemed more astonishing than the portable bridge of boats, for the passage of rivers, which he had before used in his wars on the Rhine. The archbishop of Saltzburgh, in his letters to the pope, speaks of it as a wonderfully constructed apparatus. — Gerberti Codex Epist. p. 136.

laus, king of Hungary, all the places wrested from him in that kingdom. To cement this union a double marriage was to be concluded between a son and daughter of each of the two sovereigns; Rhodolph engaged to give a portion of 40,000 marks of silver to his daughter, and as a pledge for the payment, assigned to Ottocar a part of that district of Austria which lies beyond the Danube. The peace being concluded, the city of Vienna opened its gates, and readily acknowledged the new sovereign.

Ottocar was obliged to submit to these humiliating conditions, and on the 25th of November, the day appointed for doing homage, crossed the Danube with a large escort of Bohemian nobles to the camp of Rhodolph, and was received by the king of the Romans, in the presence of several princes of the empire. With a depressed countenance and broken spirit, which he was unable to conceal from the bystanders, he made a formal resignation of his pretensions to Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and, kneeling down, did homage to his rival, and obtained the investiture of Bohemia and Moravia, with the accustomed ceremonies.*

Rhodolph, having thus secured these valuable provinces, took possession of them as fiefs reverted to the empire, and issued a decree, placing them under the government of Louis of Bavaria, as vicar-general of the empire, in case

* The ceremony of doing homage probably passed in the camp of Rhodolph, under the walls of Vienna, though some historians place it in Camberg, a small island of the Danube. But it would be of little consequence to ascertain where the ceremony was performed, were it not connected with a fact of great importance, in regard to the moral character of Rhodolph, and which is related by many historians in the following manner. Ottocar requested that, to avoid a public exhibition of his degradation, he might do homage to the king of the Romans alone in his tent, and Rhodolph consented; but in the midst of the ceremony, the sides of the tent were drawn up, and exhibited Ottocar on his knees before Rhodolph, in the presence of the two armies who ranged on both sides of the Danube; this public affront inflamed the resentment of the high-spirited Ottocar, and was said to be the principal cause of his subsequent breach of the treaty.

This idle and improbable story would not deserve a serious refutation, had it not been adopted in most of the modern histories. Frœlich, however, in a treatise written purposely to refute it, has satisfactorily proved its falsity.

of his death, or during an interregnum.* He at the same time established his family in the Austrian dominions, by persuading the archbishop of Saltzburgh, and the bishops of Passau, Freysingen, and Bamberg, to confer on his sons Albert, Hartman, and Rhodolph, the ecclesiastical fiefs held by the dukes of Austria. His next care was, to maintain the internal peace of those countries by salutary regulations; and he gained the affection of the nobles, by confirming their privileges, and permitting them to rebuild the fortresses which Ottocar had demolished. To superintend the execution of these regulations, he fixed his residence at Vienna, where he was joined by his queen and family.

In order to reward his retainers, he was however compelled to lay considerable impositions on his new subjects, and to obtain free gifts from the bishops and clergy; and the discontents arising from these measures probably induced Ottocar to attempt the recovery of the territories which he had lost.

Although the king of Bohemia had taken leave of Rhodolph with the strongest professions of friendship, and at different intervals had renewed his assurances of unalterable harmony; yet the humiliating conditions which he had subscribed, and the loss of such valuable provinces, filled him with resentment; his lofty spirit was still farther inflamed by his queen Cunegunda, a princess of an imperious temper, who stimulated her husband with continual reproaches. He accordingly raised obstacles to the execution of the treaty, and neglected to comply with many of the conditions to which he had agreed.

Rhodolph, desirous to avoid a rupture, despatched his son Albert to Prague. Ottocar received him with affected demonstrations of friendship, and even bound himself by oath to fulfil the articles of the peace. But Albert had scarcely retired from Prague before he immured in a con-

* The French and Bavarian writers have falsely asserted that Rhodolph intrusted Louis with the government of these duchies, and promised him the investiture; whereas Louis was only designated as eventual administrator, during an interregnum, in virtue of his office of vicar-general of the empire. See the original decree in Lambacher's Oesterreichisches Interregnum, Append. p. 20.

vent the daughter he had promised to one of the sons of Rhodolph, and sent a letter to the king of the Romans, filled with the most violent invectives, and charging him with a perfidious intention of renewing the war.

Rhodolph returned a dignified answer to these reproaches, and prepared for the renewal of the contest which he saw was inevitable. He instantly re-occupied that part of Austria which he had yielded to Ottocar, as a pledge for the portion of his daughter. He also obtained succours from the archbishop of Saltzburgh, the bishops of Passau, Ratisbon, and the neighbouring prelates and princes, and collected levies from Austria and Styria, for the protection of Vienna. In an interview at Haimburgh on the frontiers of Austria, with Ladislaus, king of Hungary, he adopted that prince as his son, and concluded with him an offensive and defensive alliance. Unwilling, however, to trust his hopes and fortune to his new subjects, many of whom were ready to desert him, or to allies whose fidelity and attachment were doubtful, he applied to the princes of the German empire; but had the mortification to be disappointed in his expectations. He was joined by a few only of the inferior princes; but many who had not taken part in the former war, were still less inclined to support him on the present occasion; several gained by Ottocar, either remained neuter or took part against him: those who expressed an inclination to serve him, delayed sending their succours, and he derived no assistance even from his sons-in-law the electors Palatine and Saxony.

On the other hand, he was threatened with the most imminent danger; for Ottocar, who during the peace had prepared the means of gratifying his vengeance, had formed a league with Henry of Bavaria; had purchased either the neutrality or assistance of many of the German princes; had drawn auxiliaries from the chiefs of Poland, Bulgaria, Pomerania, and Magdeburgh, and from the Teutonic hordes on the shores of the Baltic. He had also excited a party among the turbulent nobles of Hungary, and spread disaffection among his former subjects in Austria and Styria. In June he quitted Prague, effected a junction with his allies, directing his march toward the frontiers of Austria, carried Drosendorf, after a short siege, by storm, and

descending along the banks of the Taya, invested the fortress of Laa.

Rhodolph, convinced that his cause would suffer by delay, waited with great impatience the arrival of a body of troops from Alsace, under the command of his son Albert. But as these troops did not arrive at the appointed time, he was greatly agitated and disturbed; became pensive and melancholy, and frequently exclaimed, "That there was not one in whom he could confide, or on whose advice he could depend." His household and attendants partook of his despondency: to use the words of a contemporary chronicle, "All the family of king Rhodolph ran to confessors, arranged their affairs, forgave their enemies, and received the communion; for a mortal danger seemed to hang over them." The citizens of Vienna caught the contagion, and began to be alarmed for their safety. Seeing him almost abandoned by his German allies, and without a sufficient army to oppose his adversaries, they requested his permission to capitulate, and choose a new sovereign, that they might not be involved in his ruin. Roused from his despondency by this address, Rhodolph prevailed on the citizens not to desert their sovereign; he confirmed their privileges, declared Vienna an imperial city, animated them with new spirit, and obtained from them a promise to defend the ramparts to the last extremity.

At this period he was joined by some troops from Alsace and Suabia, and particularly by his confidant and confessor, the bishop of Basle, at the head of one hundred chosen horse, and a body of expert slingers. This small but timely reinforcement revived his confidence; and although he was privately informed that his son Albert could not supply him with further succours, and was advised not to hazard an engagement with an enemy so superior in number, he resolved to commit his fortune to the decision of arms. Turning then to the chosen body newly arrived, he addressed them with a spirit which could not fail of inspiring them with courage, and gave at the same time the most flattering testimony to their zeal and fidelity. "Remain," he said, "one day at Vienna, and refresh yourselves after the fatigues of your march, and we will then take the field. You shall be the guard of my person; and I trust that God,

who has advanced me to this dignity, will not forsake me in the hour of danger!"

Three days after the arrival of the bishop of Basle, Rhodolph quitted Vienna, marched along the southern bank of the Danube, to Haimburgh, crossed that river, and advanced to Marcheck, on the banks of the March or Morava, where he was joined by the Styrians and Carinthians, and the forces led by the king of Hungary. He instantly despatched two thousand of his Hungarian auxiliaries to reconnoitre and interrupt the operations of his adversary. They fulfilled their orders with spirit and address; for Ottocar, roused by their insults, broke up his camp, and marched to Jedensberg, within a short distance of Weidendorf, whither Rhodolph had advanced.

While the two armies continued in this situation, some traitors repaired to the camp of Rhodolph, and proposed to assassinate Ottocar; but Rhodolph, with his characteristic magnanimity, rejecting this offer, apprised Ottocar of the danger with which he was threatened, and made overtures of reconciliation. The king of Bohemia, confident in the superiority of his force, deemed the intelligence a fabrication, and the proposals of Rhodolph a proof of weakness, and disdainfully refused to listen to any negotiation.

Finding all hopes of accommodation frustrated, Rhodolph prepared for a conflict, in which, like Cæsar, he was not to fight for victory alone, but for life. At the dawn of day, August 26, 1278, his army was drawn up, crossed the rivulet which gives name to Weidendorf, and approached the camp of Ottocar. He ordered his troops to advance in a crescent, and attack at the same time both flanks and the front of the enemy; and then turning to his soldiers, exhorted them to avenge the violation of the most solemn compacts, and the insulted majesty of the empire, and by the efforts of that day to put an end to the tyranny, the horrors, and the massacres to which they had been so long exposed. He had scarcely finished before the troops rushed to the charge, and a bloody conflict ensued, in which both parties fought with all the fury that the presence and exertions of their sovereigns, or the magnitude of the cause in which they were engaged, could inspire. At length the imperial troops gained the advantage; but in the very

moment of victory, the life of him on whom all depended was exposed to the most imminent danger.

Several knights of superior strength and courage, animated by the rewards and promises of Ottocar, had confederated either to kill or take the king of the Romans. They rushed forward to the place where Rhodolph, riding among the foremost ranks, was encouraging and leading his troops; and Herbot of Fullenstein, a Polish knight, giving spurs to his horse, made the first charge. Rhodolph, accustomed to this species of combat, eluded the stroke, and, piercing his antagonist under his beaver, threw him dead to the ground. The rest followed the example of the Polish warrior, but were all slain, except Valens, a Thuringian knight of gigantic stature and strength, who, reaching the person of Rhodolph, pierced his horse in the shoulder, and threw him wounded to the ground. The helmet of the king was beaten off by the shock, and being unable to rise under the weight of his armour, he covered his head with his shield, till he was rescued by Berchtold Capillar, the commander of the corps of reserve, who cutting his way through the enemy, flew to his assistance. Rhodolph mounted another horse, and heading the corps of reserve, renewed the charge with fresh courage, and his troops, animated by his presence and exertions, completed the victory.

Ottocar himself fought with no less intrepidity than his great competitor. On the total rout of his troops he disdained to quit the field; and, after performing incredible feats of valour, was overpowered by numbers, dismounted, and taken prisoner. He was instantly stripped of his armour, and killed by some Austrian and Styrian nobles, whose relations he had put to death. The discomfited remains of his army, pursued by the victors, were either taken prisoners, cut to pieces, or drowned in their attempts to pass the March; and above fourteen thousand perished in this decisive engagement.*

Rhodolph continued on the field till the enemy were

* The battle is generally called the battle of Marchfield, from the district in which it was fought. But the scene of action was undoubtedly between Weidendorf and Jedensberg, and not far from the bank of the March or Morava, which separates Austria from Hungary.

totally routed and dispersed. He endeavoured to restrain the carnage, and sent messengers to save the life of Ottocar, but his orders arrived too late; and when he received an account of his death, he generously lamented his fate. He did ample justice to the valour and spirit of Ottocar; in his letter to the pope, after having described the contest, and the resolution displayed by both parties, either to conquer or die, he adds: "At length our troops prevailing, drove the Bohemians into the neighbouring river, and almost all were either cut to pieces, drowned, or taken prisoners. Ottocar, however, after seeing his army discomfited, and himself left alone, still would not submit to our conquering standards; but, fighting with the strength and spirit of a giant, defended himself with wonderful courage, until he was unhorsed, and mortally wounded by some of our soldiers. Then that magnanimous monarch lost his life at the same time with the victory, and was overthrown, not by our power and strength, but by the right hand of the Most High!"

The body of Ottocar, deformed with seventeen wounds, was borne to Vienna, and, after being exposed to the people, was embalmed, covered with a purple pall, the gift of the queen of the Romans, and buried in a Franciscan convent.*

The plunder of the camp was immense; and Rhodolph, apprehensive lest the disputes for the booty and the hope of new spoils should occasion a contest between his followers and the Hungarians, dismissed his warlike but barbarous allies, with acknowledgments for their services, and pursued the war with his own forces. He took possession of Moravia without opposition, and advanced into Bohemia as far as Colin.

The recent wars, the total defeat of the army, and the death of Ottocar, had rendered that country a scene of rapine and desolation. Wenceslaus, his only son, was scarcely eight years of age; and the queen Cunegunda, a foreign princess, was without influence or power; the turbulent nobles, who had scarcely submitted to the vigorous

* Seven months afterwards the royal corpse was removed at the request of the Bohemians, and buried with great pomp at Prague. — Pelzel.

administration of Ottocar, being without check or control, gave full scope to their licentious spirit; the people were unruly and rebellious, and not a single person in the kingdom possessed sufficient authority to assume and direct the reins of government. In this dreadful situation, Cunegunda appealed to the compassion of Rhodolph, and offered to place her infant son and the kingdom under his protection. In the midst of these transactions, Otho, margrave of Brandenburg, and nephew of Ottocar, marched into Bohemia at the head of a considerable army; took charge of the royal treasures, secured the person of Wenceslaus, and advanced against the king of the Romans.

Rhodolph, weakened by the departure of the Hungarians, and thwarted by the princes of the empire, was too prudent to trust his fortune to the chance of war; he listened therefore to overtures of peace, and an accommodation was effected by arbitration. He was to retain possession of the Austrian Provinces, and to hold Moravia for five years, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; Wenceslaus was acknowledged king of Bohemia, and during his minority, the regency was assigned to Otho; Rhodolph, second son of the emperor, was to espouse the Bohemian princess Agnes; and his two daughters, Judith and Hedwige, were affianced to the king of Bohemia and to Otho the Less *, brother of the margrave. In consequence of this agreement Rhodolph withdrew from Bohemia, and in 1280 returned to Vienna in triumph. Being delivered from the most powerful of his enemies, and relieved from all future apprehensions by the weak and distracted state of Bohemia, he directed his principal aim to secure the Austrian territories for his own family. With this view he compelled Henry of Bavaria, under the pretext of punishing his recent connection with Ottocar, to cede Austria above the Ems, and to accept in return the districts of Scharding, Neuburgh, and Freystadt, as the dowry of his wife.

But, though master of all the Austrian territories, he experienced great difficulties in transferring them to his

* It is a singular circumstance that both brothers bore the name of Otho. The elder brother was called Otho the Long, and the younger brother Otho the Short, or the Less. See Fugger, p. 146. 267.

family. Some claimants of the Bamberg line still existed; Agnes, daughter of Gertrude, and wife of Ulric of Heunburgh, and the two sons of Constantia, by Albert of Misnia. Those provinces were likewise coveted by Louis, count palatine of the Rhine; and by his brother Henry of Bavaria, as having belonged to their ancestors; and by Meinhard of Tyrol, from whom he had derived such essential assistance, in virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth, widow of the emperor Conrade, and sister of the dukes of Bavaria. The Misnian princes, however, having received a compensation from Ottocar, withheld their pretensions; and Rhodolph purchased the acquiescence of Agnes and her husband, by a sum of money and a small cession of territory. He likewise eluded the demands of the Bavarian princes, and of Meinhard, by referring them to the decision of the German diet. In the mean time he conciliated by acts of kindness and liberality his new subjects, and obtained from the states of the duchy a declaration that all the lands possessed by Frederic the Warlike belonged to the emperor, or to whomsoever he should grant them as fiefs, saving the rights of those who within a given time should prosecute their claims. He then intrusted his son Albert with the administration, convoked, on the 9th of August 1281, a diet at Nuremberg, at which he presided in person, and obtained a decree annulling all the acts and deeds of Richard of Cornwall and his predecessors, since the deposition of Frederic II., except such as had been approved by a majority of the electors. In consequence of this decree another was passed, specifically invalidating the investiture of the Austrian provinces, which was obtained from Richard of Cornwall by Ottocar in 1262.

We have already observed that Carinthia had been unjustly occupied by Ottocar, in contradiction to the rights of Philip, archbishop of Saltzburgh, brother of Ulric, the last duke. The claims of Philip were acknowledged by Rhodolph, and he took his seat at the diet of Augsburgh, in 1257, as duke of Carinthia. On the conquest of that duchy he petitioned for the investiture, but Rhodolph delayed complying with his request under various pretences, and Philip dying without issue in 1279, the duchy escheated to the empire as a vacant fief.

Rhodolph being at length in peaceable possession of these territories, gradually obtained the consent of the electors, and at the diet of Ausburgh, in December 1282, conferred jointly on his two sons, Albert and Rhodolph, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. But at their desire he afterwards resumed Carinthia, and bestowed it on Meinhard of Tyrol, to whom he had secretly promised a reward for his services, and in 1286 obtained the consent of the electors to this donation. By the request of the states of Austria, in 1283, he declared that duchy and Styria an inalienable and indivisible domain, to be held on the same terms, and with the same rights and privileges, as possessed by the ancient dukes, Leopold and Frederic the Warlike, and vested the sole administration in Albert, assigning a specific revenue to Rhodolph and his heirs, if he did not obtain another sovereignty within the space of four years.

Rhodolph had originally purposed to include his second son, Hartman, in the investiture, and with that view had joined him with his two brothers, as co-possessor of the fiefs which he obtained of the archbishop of Saltzburgh, and the neighbouring bishops. But as his prospects of aggrandisement became more certain and extensive, he destined a greater sovereignty for his favourite son; he intended to consolidate his dominions in Suabia, Alsace, and Switzerland, to annex to them the remnant of the duchy of Suabia, and those districts of the ancient kingdom of Arles, which he could recover for the empire, and with the title of king, to confer them on Hartman. He had also negotiated for him a splendid alliance, and preparations were made for his marriage with Joanna, daughter of Edward III., king of England. But his hopes were frustrated by the untimely death of the prince, who on the 24th of December, 1281, was drowned in crossing the Rhine, near the convent of Rheinau, as he was proceeding in his way to England.

Chap. IV. 1276—1291.

In the midst of his arduous contest with Ottocar, Rhodolph succeeded in preserving the friendship of the popes, and arranging the affairs of Italy.

The undefined and contradictory claims on the territories of Italy had occasioned unceasing contests between the heads of the church and of the empire. The promises which the popes had extorted from Otho IV. and Frederic II., to renounce their pretensions to the exarchate of Ravenna and the lands of the countess Matilda, had not terminated the dispute; for those sovereigns had no sooner received the imperial crown at Rome than they revived the pretensions of the empire. Many of the cities also, during these disputes, had emancipated themselves from the papal government; some affecting a nominal fealty to the chief of the empire, and others declaring themselves independent republics. During the interregnum the popes had appointed Charles, king of Naples, imperial vicar in Tuscany, and he now refused to relinquish his office, notwithstanding the election of Rhodolph. He had likewise taken possession of the counties of Provence and Fourcalquier, in right of his wife Beatrice, youngest daughter of Raimond Berenger, last count, in opposition to the claims of the eldest daughter Margaret, queen of Louis IX. of France, and to the pretensions of Rhodolph, who considered them as fiefs devolved to the empire.

Although Rhodolph had promised not to controvert the papal claims, he seems to have been induced by the death of Gregory X., and by the rapid succession of the three following pontiffs, who died in the space of fourteen months *, to attempt the revival of the imperial authority in Italy. He accordingly sent his commissaries to receive homage from the towns of Romagna and Tuscany, and a few complied; but others, particularly the states of Tuscany, which were instigated by the king of Naples, refused to acknowledge his authority.

While Rhodolph was thus endeavouring to restore the

* Gregory died Jan. 10, 1276; Innocent V., June 22; Adrian V., August 18; and John XXI., May 16, 1277.

imperial power in Italy, the papal chair was filled by Nicholas III., a pontiff of great talents and firmness, possessed of an aspiring mind, and zealous for the maintenance and extension of the papal power. Nicholas charged him with a breach of his capitulation, in endeavouring to recover Romagna, and artfully held forth the threat of excommunication, if he neglected to fulfil his vow of making a crusade against the infidels. Rhodolph, who was embarrassed with his second war against Ottocar, was apprehensive lest his refusal should induce the pope to favour his rival, and foment the rising divisions among the German princes. Appreciating likewise, from the experience of past time, the dreadful effects of papal animosity, by which even the powerful princess of the House of Suabia had been overwhelmed, and aware of the bold and decisive character of the reigning pontiff, he prudently disavowed the conduct of the imperial commissaries, and confirmed the possession of those territories which Nicholas demanded. He afterwards issued a decree ratifying this agreement; and instead of the uncertain and contested terms of the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and the lands of the countess Matilda, he yielded to the Roman see Ravenna, Omilia, Bobbio, Cesano, Forumpopoli, Forli, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Ferrara, Comachio, Adria, Rimini, Urbino, Monteferatro, and the territory of Bagno, with all their dependencies.* To prevent all future contests, and to satisfy the pope, he also obtained the formal and separate consent of the electors.

In gratitude for this ready compliance, Nicholas mediated an accommodation between Rhodolph and the king of Naples. Charles resigned the vicariate of Tuscany, and received the investiture of Provence and Fourcalquier as fiefs of the empire, without prejudice to the rights of Margaret; and Rhodolph strengthened this accommodation, by affiancing his daughter Clementia to Charles Martel, grandson of the king of Naples.

In consequence of this accommodation, Rhodolph made new attempts to revive the imperial authority in Tuscany,

* Some of these places submitted to the pope, and others resisted for a considerable time, but all were finally appropriated by the Roman see.

and sent a governor to receive the homage of the cities; but being secretly thwarted by the king of Naples, and not supported by the German princes, he could only obtain the acknowledgment of Pisa and Mignato. He, therefore, prudently relinquished the prosecution of an enterprise, which required the support of a powerful army; and indemnified himself by drawing considerable sums of money from Lucca and other cities, for the confirmation and extension of their privileges.

Some historians have condemned Rhodolph for abandoning the claims of the empire on Italy, and for confirming so large a territory to the Roman see; but others, more conversant in the affairs of that period, justly applaud his conduct, which they consider as the masterpiece of his policy, and as the most convincing instance of consummate judgment. They urge, if Frederic II., possessor of such extensive domains, duke of Suabia and Franconia, master of Lombardy, king of Naples and Sicily, could not withstand the power of the popes, how could Rhodolph, with such inconsiderable possessions, in the midst of such turbulent times, and with a powerful enemy like the king of Bohemia, venture to dispute their claims. They record the frequent observation of Rhodolph himself, that Italy had destroyed many kings of Germany; and commemorate his remark, "Rome is like the lion's den in the fable, — I discover the footsteps of those who went toward it, but none of those who return;" nor do they forget, that in consequence of the good understanding which he maintained with the Roman see, Germany was not the centre of papal intrigues, or involved in religious troubles.

Having defeated Ottocar, transferred the Austrian dominions to his own family, and conciliated the pontiff, Rhodolph found no obstacle to his zeal for the public welfare; and was enabled to turn his whole attention to the affairs of Germany, and to establish the internal tranquillity of the empire. He had, indeed, in the first year of his reign, begun this great work, which the Bohemian war and the settlement of his new dominions had compelled him to postpone; but he now resumed it with fresh vigour and alacrity. His aim was first directed to renew the public peace, passed by Frederic II. at the diet of Mentz. With

this view he, in 1281, had summoned the diets of Nuremberg and Mentz, and persuaded or compelled the electors, princes, and states, not to decide their own differences by the sword, but refer them to arbitration; and for this purpose he revived the office of hofrichters, or imperial judges, which had fallen into disuse under his weak predecessors. But all these regulations and edicts, however wise and salutary, would have availed nothing, had not Rhodolph enforced them by his own presence and example; he acted as mediator between contending parties, frequently presided in courts of justice, and was remarkable for the impartiality and acuteness of his decisions.

The principal and most useful, though the most difficult attempt, was, to enforce the laws which prohibited the building and maintenance of fortresses not necessary for the security of the empire. This prohibition had been generally neglected, and the number of fortresses had so greatly increased, that not only the superior princes, but even almost all the petty nobles, possessed castles, from which they harassed the neighbouring countries by continual incursions. Rhodolph, well knowing that while these fortresses were permitted to remain, the internal tranquillity of the empire could not be permanently established, determined to carry the law into execution with the utmost rigour, and was rather encouraged than intimidated by the difficulty of the attempt. He condemned to death nine and twenty nobles of the most illustrious families of Thuringia, who had broken the public peace; and razed in one year seventy castles and strong holds, the habitation of banditti, or of powerful barons worse than banditti. In the prosecution of this design he acted with irreproachable impartiality; and his answer to a petition in behalf of the delinquent nobles deserves to be recorded: "Do not, I beseech you, interfere in favour of robbers, or endeavour to rescue them from that death which they deserve; for they are not nobles, but the most accursed robbers, who oppress the poor, and break the public peace. True nobility is faithful and just, offends no one, and commits no injury."

The whole of his reign, in which he was not engaged in military expeditions, was passed in visiting the imperial cities; and if the numerous decrees and charters which he

signed at the different places, did not prove his frequent journies throughout the German empire, it would appear scarcely credible, that Rhodolph at so advanced an age could have transacted such a multiplicity of business, or have undergone such incessant fatigue. Hence he was justly called by a contemporary prince, Lex Animata, or a living law, and has been since distinguished by historians as the second founder of the German empire.

Rhodolph was no less zealous to wrest from the princes those fiefs which they had appropriated during the troubles of the empire. Before the Bohemian war, he compelled the marquis of Baden, the counts of Friburgh, Neuburgh, and Wittenburgh, who had sheltered themselves under the protection of Ottocar, to restore their usurpations in Suabia, Alsace, and the Brisgau. He afterwards forced the archbishop of Mentz to resign the Bachgau, which his predecessors had appropriated on the decease of Frederic II.

With the same spirit and success he attacked Philip, count of Savoy, who held several fiefs in the western parts of Helvetia, which had been dismembered from the empire.* Of these Rhodolph demanded the restoration of the towns of Morat, Payerne, and Gummenen, and in 1283, on the refusal of the count of Savoy to comply with the requisition, led an army into his territories. A desperate conflict took place near Morat, in which the life of Rhodolph was

* The House of Savoy derived its descent from Bertold, a Saxon prince, who flourished in the eleventh century, and was invested by Raioul, the third king of Arles, or Burgundy, with the county of Savoy, which formed a dependence of that kingdom. His descendants gradually acquired Maurienne, Chablais, Faucigny, and great part of Piemont, and reached such a height of power and consequence, that their alliance was sought by the principal families of Europe. Thomas I., who died in 1233, by a division of his dominions occasioned the separation of his family into the two lines of Piemont and Savoy. Peter, the third son, on the death of his nephew Boniface, without issue, in 1263, succeeded to the county of Savoy, and from his distinguished talents received the appellation of the little Charlemagne. During the troubles of the empire he extended his influence and authority over the Lower Vallois, and the Pays de Vaud, and appropriated several imperial fiefs in the western part of Helvetia, which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy. He died in 1268 without male issue, and was succeeded in his dominions by his brother Philip.

again exposed to imminent danger. As he was foremost in the combat, he was surrounded by the enemy, unhorsed, and overpowered by numbers. He sprang into the lake of Morat, and holding by the branch of a tree with one hand, defended himself with the other, till he was rescued by his followers. He was conveyed in safety to Friburgh, and the victory which had been begun under his command, was completed by his brother-in-law, the count of Hohenburgh. He pursued his advantage, and taking Morat, pushed forward to the gates of Payerne. Here an accommodation was effected by the mediation of pope Martin IV.; and the count of Savoy ceded to Rhodolph, Morat, Payerne, and Gummenen, and acknowledged his right to send an imperial commissary to Lausanne.*

Rhodolph likewise compelled the House of Savoy to relinquish their pretensions to Friburgh in the Ucthland, which they founded on the investiture of the dominions of Zæringen, granted by Richard of Cornwall, and afterwards purchased that city from his nephew Eberhard, count of Lauffenburgh, to whom he had assigned it in the partition of the territories of Kyburgh, as part of the portion of his wife Anne, daughter of Hartman the Younger.†

He next turned his arms against the counts of Burgundy, who had renounced their allegiance to the empire, and had done homage to the king of France. Having forced Rainald, count of Montbeillard, to restore Porentru to the bishop of Basle, he turned against Otho, count palatine of Burgundy, entered that province with a considerable force, and said siege to Besançon. While he was encamped on the banks of the Doux, ambassadors from Philip IV. announced the resolution of their master to march against him with a numerous army if he did not quit the French territories; "Tell him," said the gallant warrior, "we wait his arrival, and will convince him that we are not here to dance or to make merry, but to give law with the sword."

* Fugger, p. 119., who has given a singular print of Rhodolph supporting himself by the branch of a tree in the lake of Morat, and defending himself against his enemies.

† Rhodolph retained the counties of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden, and yielded to Anne, Thun, Bergdorf, Friburgh, and the landgraviate of Burgundy.

Being informed that the provisions in his camp were sufficient only for a few days, he replied, "The victory will soon be ours, and we shall find sustenance in the enemy's magazines;" and to encourage his troops by his own example, he gathered a turnip from a neighbouring field, eat it, and declared that he had never made a heartier meal. Thus infusing his own spirit into his troops, he reduced the count of Burgundy to submission; Otho renounced his allegiance to Philip of France; and repairing to Basle, did homage, and received his fiefs from the hands of the emperor.

The vigorous measures pursued by Rhodolph in extirpating the banditti, destroying the fortresses, recovering the fiefs of the empire, and maintaining the public peace, excited a spirit of discontent among the turbulent and licentious barons, and induced Tile Kolup, a person of low birth, to assume, in 1284, the name of Frederic the Second. Notwithstanding the grossness of his imposture he obtained a considerable number of adherents, was encouraged to summon a diet, and require the emperor to resign his dignity, and even collected forces sufficient to besiege Colmar. Rhodolph at first despised the impostor; but finding him supported by several princes of the empire, and the cities on the Rhine inclined to join his party, he marched against him in person, drove him to Wetzlar, where he found a refuge among his numerous partisans, besieged the town, and having compelled the inhabitants to yield up the pretended emperor, ordered him to immediate execution.

These discontents, however, did not deter him from pursuing the necessary measures to maintain the peace of the empire. In 1286-7 he turned his arms against Eberhard, count of Wirtenberg, the most powerful and licentious prince of Suabia, who, relying on the strength of Stutgard and his other fortresses, impiously styled himself "the friend of God, and the enemy of the world!" and was the terror of the neighbouring towns and districts. Rhodolph besieged and took Stutgard, rased the fortifications, captured the other fortresses on which Eberhard had placed his reliance, and compelled the licentious marauder to

relinquish his predatory mode of life, and respect the public peace.

With the view of extending his influence in Switzerland, Rhodolph endeavoured to gain possession of Berne, which was built by the dukes of Zæringen, but was afterwards declared an imperial city, and during the interregnum had obtained the protecion of the house of Savoy. Under the pretext that the Bernese had assisted the house of Savoy, and oppressed the Jews who were fiscals of the empire, he led, in 1288, an army of 30,000 men against the city. But this great man, who had humbled the pride of Ottocar, and depressed the powerful houses of Savoy and Burgundy, was foiled by the firmness and spirit of this rising republic; and after an ineffectual attempt to set fire to the town, he relinquished his enterprise. Another expedition in the following year under his son Albert, though made with the utmost secrecy and address, was equally frustrated; and his aggrandizement was alone effectually checked by a petty republic, on the borders of his own territories.

While Rhodolph was employed in maintaining the peace of the empire, and reviving the imperial authority, he extended his care to Bohemia, which had been reduced to a deplorable situation by the dreadful oppressions of the regent, Otho of Brandenburgh. After transporting into his own territories all the treasures of the church and state which he was able to seize, and suffering his troops to commit every species of enormity, Otho confined Wenceslaus and his mother in the fortress of Preising, where his education was shamefully neglected, and he was left destitute even of the common necessaries of life.* He then retired to his own territories, and placed the administration

* Pelzel, the historian of Bohemia, has described the deplorable situation to which the young king was reduced.

"So little attention was paid to the young monarch, that he roamed about the streets with a woollen shirt, tattered garments, and torn shoes, and often suffered from hunger. His education was extremely neglected, and he was not even taught to read or write; and the knowledge which he afterwards acquired, was derived from his good understanding, and his intercourse with the learned." But Otho was as zealous to accustom him to the exercises of religion, as he was careless of his person, manners, and education, for he compelled the young prince to attend twenty masses a day.

of the government in the hands of Eberhard, bishop of Brandenburgh, who, if possible, surpassed the regent in exactions, cruelty, and extortion.

At length the natives broke out into revolt, but were suppressed by the vigilance and power of Otho, who transferred the government to the bishop of Prague and some Bohemian nobles, and having exacted 15,000 marks of silver, as the price for releasing the young monarch, detained him a still closer prisoner than before.

The Bohemians appealed to the emperor, who himself demanded the release of Wenceslaus; but Otho would not comply with this order till he had extorted the promise of an additional sum of 20,000 marks, for the payment of which he was to retain in pledge Zittau, Ronow, Preising, and other towns and fortresses. Wenceslaus having ratified these conditions, was released in 1283, and entered Prague in triumph amidst general acclamations. Though only fourteen years of age, he assumed the reins of government, and was assisted by a council of the most upright and patriotic nobles of the realm. By them he was advised to revoke the agreement with Otho; but being a prince of strict moral rectitude, he was unwilling to break a solemn promise, and appealed to the head of the empire. Rhodolph referred his cause to the princes and states, and by their decision annulled the compact with Otho, as illegal and compulsory. In 1285 he repaired to Egra, gave his daughter Judith in marriage to Wenceslaus, invested him with the town and district of Egra, restored Moravia, and after receiving his renunciation of Austria, appointed him administrator of the district beyond the Danube. He also constituted him imperial vicar of Misnia, and ratified the agreement by which the margrave had rendered Misnia and Lusatia fiefs of the crown of Bohemia. At the diet of Erfurth, in 1290, he confirmed, by a solemn decree, the electorate and arch office of cup-bearer, as hereditary in the crown of Bohemia, and invested Wenceslaus with the principality of Breslau, and other territories in Silesia, which escheated to him on the death of Henry, duke of Breslau. By these acts of kindness he rescued Wenceslaus from the depressed situation into which he had fallen,

and restored Bohemia almost to her pristine tranquillity and splendor.

Rhodolph had scarcely arranged the affairs of Bohemia before his attention was called to Hungary. Ladislaus the Fourth, by his weak and licentious conduct, had alienated the affections of his subjects; and Hungary became a scene of revolt and confusion, and a pray to the incursions of the Tartars, and the Cumani, a barbarous people who dwelt on the frontiers of Transylvania. In this distress the people placed their hopes and affections on his brother Andrew, prince of Sclavonia; but this prince being assassinated by the supposed order of Ladislaus, they turned to Andrew, grandson of king Andrew the Second, surnamed the Venetian, because his father Stephen had taken up his residence at Venice, and married a Venetian lady.

Apprehensive of a revolt, Ladislaus, in 1290, summoned the Cumani to his assistance, but was murdered by his barbarous allies. Leaving no children, the crown was disputed by Andrew the Venetian, by Charles Martel, son of Charles the Second, king of Naples, and Mary, the sister of Ladislaus; it was also claimed by Rhodolph, who considered it as a fief escheated to the empire, and conferred the investiture on his son Albert. Andrew was, however, supported by the greater part of the nation, and in 1291 crowned by the archbishop of Lodomer. The pretensions of Charles Martel were patronised by pope Nicholas the Fourth, who assumed the disposal of Hungary as a fief of the Roman see, and even crowned him at Naples by the hands of his legate. He also remonstrated with Rhodolph for conferring the investiture on Albert, and required him to support the prince of Naples. Rhodolph, unwilling to offend the pope, and embarrassed with the affairs of the empire, seems to have taken no part in the contest for the crown of Hungary; and Albert was too much occupied with the internal dissensions, which at this time broke out among his subjects, to make good his claims. Andrew was therefore enabled to maintain himself on the throne to which he had been called by the nation, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, and the adherents of the prince of Naples.

Rhodolph was now in his seventy-third year, and began to sink under the infirmities of age. Sensible of his ap-

proaching end, he was desirous to secure the imperial crown to his only surviving son Albert; and with this view summoned, in May 1291, the diet of Frankfort, and endeavoured to persuade the electors to choose Albert as his successor. He hoped that, in consequence of the essential services which he had performed for the empire, the electors would not deviate from the almost invariable custom of continuing the imperial crown in the same family. He was disappointed; for they declined complying with his request, under the pretence that the empire could not maintain two kings at the same time. Rhodolph expatiated on the dangers of an interregnum, and even condescended to solicit their consent by flattery and promises; but they continued firm in evading his instances, and referred the nomination to a future diet.

To Rhodolph, who was tottering on the verge of the grave, this delay was equivalent to a positive refusal. Mortified with his disappointment, he endeavoured to dissipate his chagrin by making a journey into his hereditary dominions, and passed some days at Basle and Strasburgh, in the midst of his family, and with the companions of his former wars. He then prepared to proceed into Austria to visit his son Albert, who was engaged in quelling an insurrection of his subjects; but his strength declining, and his physicians exhorting him to remain tranquil, he replied, as if presaging his fate, "Let me go to Spire, and see the kings my predecessors." He accordingly descended the Rhine, but had not sufficient strength to proceed beyond Germesheim. He prepared for his end with marks of the most ardent devotion, and died on the 15th of July, 1291, in the seventy-third year of his age, and in the nineteenth of his glorious reign. His body was conveyed to Spire, and interred with those of the former emperors.

We shall close this account of the great founder of the House of Austria with a few anecdotes relating to his person and character. Rhodolph was above the ordinary stature, being more than six feet in height, but extremely slender; his head was small and almost bald, his complexion pale, his nose large and aquiline. His natural aspect was grave and composed; but he no sooner began to speak than his countenance brightened into animation. His manners

were so captivating, and he possessed the art of persuasion in so eminent a degree, that, to use the expression of Dornavius, one of his panegyrists, "he fascinated persons of all ranks, as if with a love potion." He was plain, unaffected, and simple in his dress, and was accustomed to say that he considered the majesty of a sovereign as consisting rather in princely virtues than in magnificence of apparel.

In an age of superstition, the piety of Rhodolph was pure and ardent; and he was punctual and devout in attending the services of the church. He esteemed and honoured the humble minister of religion, but chastised the insolence of the haughty prelates, who forgot the meekness of the Gospel, in the splendor and exercise of temporal dominion. Although he recovered estates and advocacies which the hierarchy had usurped from the empire, and resisted all claims of exemption from the public charges, which religious establishments arrogated to themselves, yet he supported the dignity and privileges of the sacerdotal order, and enforced, by his own example, respect and deference for every member of the church. The contemporary chronicles, among numerous anecdotes, record an instance of his courteous demeanour towards the inferior clergy, and of his unfeigned respect for the forms of religion. Being engaged in hunting, he met between Fahr and Baden a priest on foot, carrying the host to a sick person; and as the road was extremely dirty, and the torrents swollen with rain, he alighted, and gave his horse to the priest, saying, it ill became him to ride, while the bearer of Christ's body walked on foot; at the same time he expressed his gratitude and veneration to the Supreme Being, who had raised him from the huts of his ancestors to the throne of the empire.

Of his magnanimity several memorable instances are recorded. At the conclusion of the victory in the March field, the nobleman who had killed his horse, and dismounted him, being taken prisoner, was brought before him, in order to be executed. Rhodolph instantly restored him to liberty, adding, "I have been a witness to his intrepidity, and should never forgive myself if so courageous a knight should be put to death." Being casually wounded

by an arrow at a tournament, the man who shot the arrow was seized and condemned to lose his right hand. Rhodolph forbad the execution of the sentence, by saying, "If he had before lost his right hand, he would not have wounded me; but what advantage can I now derive from the infliction of the punishment?"

After he was emperor, being at Mentz in the midst of his officers, he saw Muller, the citizen of Zurich, who had rescued him in the battle against the count of Regensberg. He instantly rose up to meet him, received him with the warmest demonstrations of friendship and regard, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood. Being asked why he lavished such favours on a person of no rank, he replied, "When I was count of Hapsburgh, and fell into the hands of my enemies, this man rescued me, and mounted me on his own horse; and by his assistance I was delivered from almost inevitable destruction. It is my duty, therefore, to pay him every mark of distinction in my power, to whom, next to God, I owe the preservation of my life."

During the Bohemian war, when his troops were suffering from the scarcity of water, a flagon was presented to him, which he declined. "I cannot," he said, "drink alone, nor can I divide so small a quantity among all; I do not thirst for myself, but for my whole army." But at the same time that he was kindly attentive to the wants of his soldiers, he was not the less exact in enforcing discipline, and in mortifying those who would not practise that abstinence and self-denial, of which he was the first to set the example. Having secretly collected a body of troops to make an irruption into the enemy's territory, he invited them to partake of some refreshment, and laid before them coarse rye bread and indifferent wine. Some of the soldiers, discontented with the meanness of their fare, purchased whiter bread and more palatable wine, with which they began to regale themselves. Rhodolph observing their fastidiousness, rose from table, and dismissed them from his service, declaring that he would retain none who could not content themselves with such fare as satisfied their superiors.

He was by nature warm and choleric; but as he advanced in years he corrected this defect. Some of his friends ex-

pressing their wonder that since his elevation to the imperial dignity he had restrained the vehemence of his temper, he replied, "I have often repented of being passionate, but never of being mild and humane." His heart was neither steeled nor corrupted by power, and the goodness of his disposition rose superior to the paltry considerations of his own private interest. To the tax-gatherers he said, "The cry of distress has reached my ears; you compel travellers to pay duties which they ought not to pay, and to bear burthens which they cannot support. Do not unjustly seize what belongs to others, but take only your due. It is my duty to employ vigilance, and to promote justice and tranquillity, which I consider as the greatest blessings under heaven." He was also easy of access, even to persons of the lowest condition. To his soldiers, who endeavoured to prevent the approach of some poor men, he observed, "For God's sake, let them alone; I was not elected emperor to be secluded from mankind."

Bred up in wars, and educated in camps, Rhodolph found no leisure to cultivate letters; yet he always testified respect for the arts and sciences, and patronised men of learning. Being presented by a citizen of Strasburgh with a manuscript, describing the wars of the Romans against the Germans, and the virtues of a general, he bestowed on the author a gold medal and chain, which he was accustomed to wear round his neck. One of his relations expressing his dissatisfaction at the gift, because money was wanting to pay the troops, Rhodolph mildly answered, "My good friend, be contented that men of learning praise our actions, and thereby inspire us with additional courage in war. Would to God I could employ more time in reading, and could expend some of that money on learned men which I must throw away on so many illiterate knights!"

He seems to have been no less distinguished for playful wit and pleasantry. Being at Mentz in 1288, he walked out early in the morning, dressed as usual in the plainest manner, and as the weather was cold, entered a baker's shop to warm himself. The mistress, unacquainted with his person, peevishly exclaimed, "Soldiers ought not to come into poor women's houses."—"Do not be angry,

good woman," returned the king of the Romans, with great complacency, "I am an old soldier, who have spent all my fortune in the service of that rascal, Rhodolph, and he suffers me to want, notwithstanding all his fine promises." "As you serve," rejoined the woman, "that fellow who has laid waste the whole earth, and devoured the poor, you have deservedly incurred all your misfortunes." She then virulently abused the king of the Romans, adding, with great bitterness, that she and all the bakers in the town, except two, were ruined by his means; and compelled him to depart, by throwing a pail of water on the fire, which filled the room with smoke and vapour.

Rhodolph, on sitting down to dinner, ordered his hostess to convey a boar's head and a bottle of wine to her neighbour, the baker's wife, as a present from the old soldier who had warmed himself in the morning by her fire, and then related the anecdote with much humour. When thus apprised of her mistake, the woman was greatly terrified, and, approaching the table, entreated forgiveness in the most suppliant manner. Rhodolph consented, on condition that she would repeat her abusive expressions, with which the woman faithfully complied, to the amusement and laughter of all who were present.

But to return from these anecdotes, which mark the character of the man, to those actions which distinguished the sovereign. The imperial dignity, which had been despised and insulted, was raised by the exertions and policy of Rhodolph almost to its pristine splendour and power; and the German empire, from a state of anarchy, weakness, and confusion, was restored to strength, order, and tranquillity. To adopt the just eulogy of a contemporary writer, "his very name spread fear and terror among the licentious barons, and joy among the people; as the light springs from darkness, so arose peace and tranquillity from war and desolation. The peasant resumed the plough, which he had long neglected; the merchant, whom the fear of plunder had confined to his dwelling, now traversed the country with confidence and security; and robbers and banditti, who had hitherto roved unshamed in the face of day, now hid their crimes in coverts and wastes." Nor can any man be considered as a greater benefactor to his own

family; from his scanty dominions, which are scarcely distinguished in the map of Europe, the courage, exertions, perseverance, and talents of Rhodolph, laid the foundation of that stupendous height of grandeur which his successors afterwards attained. In a word, if we consider the situation of Germany when he ascended the throne, and the state in which he left it; the greatness of his actions, and the smallness of his means, his extreme prudence and address, his ardour for military glory, and yet his propensity to peace; his firmness in distress, and, what is far more difficult, his moderation in prosperity, his shining talents as a sovereign, and his amiable qualities as a man; we must place Rhodolph among the best and greatest princes who ever filled a throne.*

Rhodolph was first married to Gertrude-Anne †, countess of Hohenberg, who died in 1281, and afterwards, in his sixty-fourth year, to Agnes, a princess of Burgundy. She was only fourteen on her marriage with Rhodolph; and a proof of her extreme beauty, and of his pleasantry, is recorded by the author of the Mirror of the House of Austria. The bishop of Spire, in handing her from a carriage, was so struck with her charms, that he saluted her on the cheek. The empress indignantly complaining to her husband of this mark of disrespect, Rhodolph forbade him to appear at court, saying, "I will provide the bishop an *Agnus Dei* to kiss; but desire he will leave my *Agnes* unkissed."

By his first wife he had a numerous offspring: Albert, who succeeded him; Hartman, drowned in 1281, in the eighteenth year of his age; Rhodolph, who was born in 1270, distinguished himself under the standard of his father, and died in 1290, he is usually styled Rhodolph II.; by his wife Agnes, daughter of Ottocar, king of Bohemia,

* For the reign and character of Rhodolph have been consulted numerous annals, chronicles, and histories, both of contemporary and subsequent authors; as well as the various dissertations on his reign, and the diplomatic and genealogical labours of Hergott and Gerbert.

† It is a singular circumstance that this princess, till her coronation, styled herself Gertrude, and afterwards Anne; her two names occasioned a ludicrous mistake, and have induced some authors to suppose that Rhodolph married three wives, Gertrude, Anne, and Elizabeth.—See Hergott, who has corrected this mistake.

he left an only and posthumous son, John. After the birth of her son, his widow immured herself in the convent of St. Clair, at Prague, where she died in 1296.

The daughters of Rhodolph were, first, Matilda, who espoused Louis the Severe, count palatine of Bavaria, and bore two sons, Rhodolph, who died in 1319, and Louis, who afterwards became emperor. She died in 1303, of chagrin, for the undutiful behaviour of her eldest son. Second, Agnes, who married Albert, duke of Saxony, and became mother of a numerous offspring. She died a widow, in 1322. Third, Hedwige, married to Otho the Little, margrave of Brandenburgh; she died childless in 1308, and her husband, afflicted by her death, turned monk, and deceased the same year. Fourth, Catherine, married Otho, son of Henry, duke of Bavaria. She bore no children, and died in 1303. Fifth, Clementia, first betrothed to Andrew, prince of Sclavonia, but afterwards married to Charles Martel, prince of Naples, and claimant of the crown of Hungary. He and his wife died in 1305 of the plague, leaving one son, Charles Robert, or Carobert, who became king of Hungary. Sixth, Judith, or Gutha, who espoused Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and died in 1297, after bearing a son Wenceslaus, who succeeded his father, and a daughter Anne, who married Henry, duke of Carinthia. Seventh, Euphemia, a nun.

Chap. V. — ALBERT I. — 1291–1308.

Albert, sole surviving son of Rhodolph, succeeded to all the hereditary and acquired dominions of his father, in conjunction with his nephew John; but as that prince was an infant, he enjoyed the sole administration, and concentered in himself all the authority and influence derived from the riches, extensive possessions, and intermarriages of his family with the principal sovereigns of Europe.

The death of Rhodolph left Albert in a critical situation. After receiving in 1283, the investiture of Austria, he had principally resided at Vienna, and conducted the adminis-

tration of affairs with firmness and vigilance. He imitated his father in clearing the roads from banditti, in demolishing the fortresses of freebooters, and protecting merchants and travellers. But he offended the natives by his stern and unconciliating manners, and alienated the magnates of Austria and Styria, by transferring his confidence and favour to his Suabian followers, on whom he bestowed the principal offices of state, and married to the richest heiresses in the country. These circumstances occasioning great discontents, the states demanded the dismission of the Suabian favourites ; and on the refusal of Albert to comply with their request, the principal barons secretly assembled at Tuln, and concerted a plan for a general insurrection. To secure the assistance of the neighbouring powers, they made overtures to the kings of Bohemia and Hungary, to Rhodolph, archbishop of Saltzburgh, with whom Albert had been engaged in perpetual contests, and to Otho, duke of Bavaria. They offered to Bohemia Lower Austria, Styria to the duke of Bavaria, and Upper Austria to the archbishop. Wenceslaus seems to have privately encouraged, though he gave no public support to the malcontents: and Ladislaus was too much embarrassed by civil dissensions to interfere in the affairs of Austria: but the counts of Guntz, a powerful Hungarian family, were won by the offer of Carniola and Windischmark, and in 1291 penetrating into Austria, devastated the country to the gates of Newstadt. Albert marched against them, expelled them from his territories, and following them into Hungary, reduced Presburgh, and twenty-seven other towns and fortresses, which they had wrested from Ladislaus. This success, however, did not arrest the progress of the conspiracy ; for after the death of Rhodolph the nobles repeated their demands, and the citizens of Vienna broke out into revolt. Fortunately for Albert the plan was not sufficiently matured, and the malcontents were unprepared to rise at the same moment; he was, therefore, enabled to resist the first movement of the insurrection, and to attack the confederates one after the other. He retired to a strong position on the Callenberg, an eminence in the neighbourhood of Vienna, summoned a reinforcement of troops from Suabia, and by shutting up all

the avenues, reduced the inhabitants by famine to propose a surrender. He accepted their submission : commanded the principal magistrates to repair bare-headed and barefooted to his camp with their charters, tore them in pieces in their presence, and abrogated all those privileges which he deemed injurious to his authority. Having received succours from Alsace and Suabia, he attacked the Austrian nobles, before they could receive external assistance, made himself master of their fortresses, and reduced them to obedience.

He had scarcely restored tranquillity into Austria, before the natives of Styria broke out into revolt. They had formed a league with Conrad, who had recently succeeded to the see of Saltzbugh; with Otho of Bavaria, and Andrew, the new king of Hungary, who was desirous to recover the places wrested by Albert from the counts of Guntz. They expected also to be supported by Wenceslaus of Bohemia, who seems either to have claimed, or endeavoured to appropriate that part of Austria, with the administration of which he had been intrusted by Rhodolph. Wenceslaus advanced with an army to the Taya; Andrew assembled his forces; and Otho of Bavaria, with the archbishop of Saltzburgh, burst into Styria, and were joined by the natives.

On this irruption Albert concluded an accommodation with Wenceslaus, by means of his sister Judith*, concili-

* The Bohemian and Austrian historians differ with regard to the causes of this disagreement. The Bohemians assert, that Rhodolph had assigned to Wenceslaus, after his death, that part of Austria which lies beyond the Danube, as the dowry of his wife; but Albert, refusing to relinquish this territory, occupied the fortresses, and retained it in his possession. Wenceslaus prepared to assert his pretensions, and a war would have ensued, had not Judith mediated between her husband and brother, and obtained their consent to meet at Znaim, each accompanied by twenty followers, to adjust the difference in an amicable manner. Wenceslaus accordingly repaired to Znaim, with the stipulated number of men, but Albert soon appearing with a considerable force, compelled his unsuspecting brother-in-law to cede his pretensions.

The Austrian historians deny this account, and urge that Rhodolph gave only Egra and its district as the dowry of his daughter, and could never have intended to dismember so important a territory from Austria as the province beyond the Danube.

ated Andrew, by betrothing to him his daughter Agnes, and ceding the towns and districts which he held in Hungary. He then turned his whole force against the Styrian insurgents, and the troops of Bavaria and Saltzburgh, who having overrun the greater part of the duchy, had taken many of the fortresses, and were employed in the siege of Bruck on the Mura. Although it was the depth of winter, he himself accompanied the army, caused a passage to be cut through the snow on the mountains, and rushed unexpectedly on the confederates, at the moment when the town was about to surrender, compelled them to abandon their camp and baggage, and retreat in the greatest confusion and dismay.

In the midst of these transactions, preparations were making for the election of a new chief of the empire, and Albert conceived the most sanguine hopes of being raised to the vacant dignity. His splendid talents, powerful connections, and affinity to four of the electors, seemed to insure the possession of the imperial crown; but his arrogance and rapacity, his unconciliating manners, and despotic temper, had alienated some of the electors, while his power excited the jealousy, and alarmed the apprehensions of all. He was, however, so little aware of any opposition, that he took possession of the fortress of Trifels, where the imperial regalia were preserved; and, even before he had quelled the dissensions among his subjects, repaired to Hagenau in the vicinity of Frankfort, where the diet of election was assembled. He was disappointed in his expectations; for the archbishop of Mentz obtained by intrigue the consent of the electors to abide by his nomination, and named on the 10th of May 1292, his cousin Adolphus of Nassau, a prince of distinguished military skill and daring intrepidity, but of scanty possessions and inconsiderable power.

Albert was deeply stung by this disappointment; and, in the first movement of his indignation, expressed his resolution to oppose the election, in which he was supported by the count palatine, who seceded from the diet. He was, however, prevented from putting his threat into immediate execution, by the danger which menaced his patrimonial domains. While he was embarrassed with the troubles in

his Austrian dominions, a formidable league was consolidated against him in Helvetia. It was headed by Amadeus IV., count of Savoy, who was anxious to recover Payerne and Gummenen, which had been wrested from his uncle and predecessor Philip. The towns of Zurich, Bern, Basle, and Rapperschwyl, acceded to the confederacy; and it was strengthened by the abbot of St. Gallen, the count of Tockenburgh, and even by Rhodolph of Lauffenburgh, bishop of Constance, who was apprehensive that Albert intended to deprive him of the guardianship of his nephew Herman of Kyburgh.* The count of Savoy recovered the advocacy of Payerne, and obtained the protectorship of Bern, until the election of a new chief of the empire; at the same time the citizens of Zurich, headed by Frederic of Tockenburgh, whom they had chosen for their chief, defeated the burghers of Winterthur, and laid siege to the town. They were, however, discomfited by a stratagem of the Austrian commander, Hugh of Werdenberg, and compelled to desert the confederacy. Albert himself hastened towards Helvetia, demolished several fortresses in the bishopric of Constance, and besieged the abbot of St. Gallen in Wyle; he reduced the town to ashes, transplanted the inhabitants to Schwartzenbach, a place built by the counts of Hapsburgh, and was preparing to attack the other confederates, when a general amnesty was proclaimed by the new king of the Romans.

During the interval which had elapsed since the election of Adolphus, the resentment of Albert had begun to subside, and he had reflected on the difficult and dangerous crisis of his affairs. Aware that he could not venture to engage in a German war, while the flame of insurrection was repressed, not extinguished, in Austria, and dreading the fate of Ottocar, he suffered himself to be softened by the excuses of the electors. He therefore acknowledged the new chief of the empire, gave up the regalia, and received the investiture of his fiefs from the hands of Adolphus.

The event justified his prudence and foresight; for, on

* Eberhard, brother of Rhodolph, bishop of Constance, espoused Anne of Kyburgh, and died in 1284, leaving two sons, Herman and Eberhard, under the guardianship of their uncle.

his return to Vienna, he was involved in fresh contests with the archbishop of Saltzburgh; and the Austrians and Styrians, who had indignantly submitted to his authority, endeavoured to obtain the support of Adolphus. At this juncture he was seized with a severe disorder, and a report being spread of his death, the archbishop demolished a new town built on the frontier of Austria, and destroyed some salt works which had been the subject of the recent disputes. Fortunately the violent remedies * employed by his physicians occasioned a speedy recovery; and although he lost an eye, and his face was distorted, he preserved his pristine vigour and strength. Without a moment's delay he entered the territories of the see of Saltzburgh, and besieged the fortress of Radstadt; but relinquishing his enterprise, from an apprehension of being attacked by the troops of Bavaria, concluded an armistice with the archbishop.

During these events the views of Albert had been invariably directed towards the imperial crown; and his hopes were now excited by the unpopularity of Adolphus, who had alienated the electors by arbitrary attempts to aggrandise his family, and had even offended the archbishop of Mentz, to whom he solely owed his elevation. Albert skilfully availed himself of these favourable circumstances, secured the archbishop, and by his largesses and promises gained the king of Bohemia, and the electors of Cologne, Saxony, and Brandenburgh. The plan of a confederacy, for the deposition of Adolphus, was arranged during the splendid coronation of Wenceslaus at Prague †, in June 1297, at which the four electors and Albert were present, and matured in a subsequent meeting at Vienna. Albert established the internal peace of his dominions by relaxing the rigour of his government; and secured them from ex-

* The physicians are said to have hung him up by the feet, when in a state of insensibility, till a large quantity of fluid burst from his eyes, nose, and mouth.

† According to Pelzel, the coronation of Wenceslaus was the most splendid ceremony ever performed. Even the extensive city of Prague could not contain the vast concourse of strangers, and many dwelt in tents without the walls. Not less than 114,000 horses were on this occasion maintained at the expense of the king, vol. i. p. 156.

ternal aggression by renewing his alliance with Andrew, king of Hungary, and above all by conciliating the friendship of the archbishop of Saltzburgh, the great mover of all the former troubles.

The same year a diet was assembled at Mentz, at which the electors of Mentz, Saxony, and Brandenburgh, and the ambassadors of Bohemia and Cologne, were present. They drew up a long list of grievances, cited Adolphus to answer the charges preferred against him; and on his refusal to appear, deposed him for contumacy, and raised Albert to the imperial throne, on the 23rd of June, 1298.

Adolphus was not tardy in defending his crown. He was powerfully assisted by Rhodolph, elector Palatine, who had recently succeeded his father Louis the Severe; by the duke of Lower Bavaria; and by many of the princes and states of the empire; and he detached from the confederacy the elector of Cologne. Albert, who had prepared for immediate hostilities, had drawn his troops from Alsace and Suabia, and was supported with auxiliaries from the king of Hungary, and the contingents of the electors who favoured his cause. The two armies met at Gelheim, between Spire and Worms, on the 2nd of July, and being led by the rival sovereigns, fought with unusual intrepidity. Albert invented a new species of poignard, with which he armed a chosen body of foot, and commanded them to strike at the horses, and penetrate to the person of Adolphus. The stratagem succeeded; the cavalry were driven back, and Adolphus was dismounted and received so severe a contusion in the head, that he was obliged to throw off his helmet. Being again mounted, he gave spurs to his horse, and mowing down all who opposed him, forced his way to the spot where Albert was issuing his orders, and animating his troops by his voice and gestures, "Yield," exclaimed Adolphus, "your life and your crown!" "The event is in the hand of Providence!" replied Albert, and pierced him in the face with his lance. At the same moment the horse of Adolphus was felled to the ground; and he himself, overpowered by numbers, yielded his life and dignity to his more fortunate rival.

Notwithstanding this decisive victory, Albert was too wary to hold the crown by a contested title. Having there-

fore gained by address and promises the electors of Treves and Palatine, he renounced his pretensions in virtue of his late election, and was re-chosen by the unanimous vote of the whole college. He was soon afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the archbishop of Cologne, and on the 24th of August held his first diet at Nurenberg, with a splendour exceeding all former examples. All the electors, and even the king of Bohemia, attended in person, and performed the duties of their respective offices, while he sat at table, amidst a numerous concourse of princes and nobles. At the same diet his wife was inaugurated queen of the Romans, and he invested his three sons Rhodolph, Frederic, and Leopold, with the dominions of Austria, Styria, and Carniola.

CHAP. VI. 1298—1308.

WITH a view to obtain the ratification of the pope, Albert despatched ambassadors to Rome with rich presents, and professions of duty to the church. But as he was aware that Boniface VIII., the turbulent and ambitious pontiff who then filled the see, beheld with indignation the electors deposing one emperor and raising another without his consent or participation, he placed little reliance on the success of his embassy, and made overtures of friendship to Philip the Handsome, king of France, who had no less incurred the displeasure of the pontiff. Philip eagerly accepted these overtures, and a treaty was concluded, by which Blanch, sister of Philip, was affianced to Rhodolph, eldest son of Albert. In order to consolidate this amity, the two sovereigns met at Quartrevaux, between Toul and Vaucouleurs; and Albert was accompanied by most of the electors and great princes of the empire. The meeting was conducted in the most friendly and auspicious manner, and the marriage was afterwards consummated at Paris; but no specific arrangement was made with respect to the limits of the two empires, which was the ostensible pretence of the interview, as well from the refusal of Philip to restore the dismembered provinces, as from the opposition

of some of the electors and princes, who were apprehensive of Albert's increasing power and connections.

Relying, however, on the assistance of Philip, and determined to evade the conditions which he had promised as the price of his election, Albert endeavoured to obtain the nomination of his son Rhodolph, as successor to the imperial dignity. But he was thwarted by the electors, who were suspicious of his intentions. Gerard, archbishop of Mentz, publicly declared, that he would never consent to render the imperial crown hereditary, by the nomination of the son during the lifetime of the father; and was still more exasperated by the refusal of Albert to reimburse the expenses of his journey, according to the usual custom.

On his return from the interview with Philip of France, Albert gave a proof of his encroaching and despotic spirit, by laying claim to the counties of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, as fiefs reverting to the empire, on the extinction of the male line, by the death of John, the first count of Holland, in Nov. 1299. The succession to these states undoubtedly belonged to John de Avesdes *, count of Hainault, descended from the female branch, which, according to the established rules of succession in the Low Countries, was entitled to inherit. In support of his pretensions Albert led a considerable force towards the Low Countries, but was suddenly attacked by the count of Hainault, who passed the Wahl unperceived, and having cut to pieces a detachment of the imperialists, spread such an alarm through the army, that Albert broke up his camp with precipitation, and retreated to Cologne, where he entrenched himself under the walls of the city. As he could not confide in the assistance of the electors of the Rhine, he negotiated an accommodation through the mediation of the archbishop of Cologne, and invested John de Avesnes with the disputed territories.

This instance of moderation was no less dictated by necessity than prudence; for the inveterate enmity of the pope, and the rising discontents of the electors of the Rhine, called his whole attention to the support of his tottering authority in

* He was son of Adelaide, sister of William of Holland, king of the Romans.

the empire. Boniface not only refused to confirm his election, but inveighed against him as the murderer of Adolphus, his legitimate sovereign, and even descended to personal abuse, by stigmatising him with the epithet of one-eye'd. The haughty pontiff, assuming the title of vicar-general of the empire, received the imperial ambassadors seated on a throne, wearing the crown, and girt with the sword of Constantine; and asserted, that there was no other sovereign or king of the Romans, but the sovereign pontiff of Christendom.* Albert, with a spirit becoming his high situation, despised these arrogant pretensions, and declared, "That he was king by the choice of the electors, and not by the ratification of the pope." Undaunted by the opposition of Boniface, he prepared to exercise the imperial power in its full latitude, and to resume the concessions extorted from him by the electors of the Rhine, as the price of their votes.

With a view to secure his nomination, Albert had not only confirmed the right of exacting tolls on the Rhine, but granted other imposts to the archbishop of Mentz. He had no sooner consolidated his authority, than he formed the design of resuming those grants, and substituting other tolls less burdensome, and more simple in the mode of collection; and was encouraged by the repeated representations of the free cities and towns on the Rhine, whose commerce was greatly injured by the operation of the tolls. The electors of the Rhine were highly exasperated by this project; and being secretly incited by the pope and the king of Bohemia, formed a confederacy to drive Albert from the throne. They did not even attempt to conceal their aversion to their chief: and the elector of Mentz, when on a hunting party with Albert, tauntingly exclaimed, "I need only sound my horn, and a new king of the Romans will instantly appear."

Boniface supported the confederates with the authority of the church; and in a letter to the ecclesiastical electors, he said, "We command you to signify, by public procla-

* Benvenuto da Immola. This fact is however denied by Muratori; but seems too consonant to the pretensions of the see of Rome, at that period, and to the character of Boniface, to be controverted merely on the plea of its improbability.

mation, to Albert, the pretended king of the Romans, that he must in six months appear before us by his envoys, sufficiently authorized and instructed, as well to justify himself, if he can, against the imputation of treason towards king Adolphus, as to avert the sentence of excommunication which he has incurred by persecuting the holy see, and to undergo such penance as we shall prescribe. We strictly forbid the electors, vassals, and subjects of the empire to acknowledge him as king of the Romans; we release them from their oath of allegiance, and will proceed against him and his adherents, spiritually and temporally, as we shall judge most expedient."

Albert defeated the views of the pope, and of the electors, by the promptitude and vigour of his measures. He secured the neutrality of the margrave of Brandenburgh, and the elector of Saxony; and being joined by numerous princes and states of the empire, as well as by succours from the kings of France and Hungary, he, in 1301, burst with a considerable army into the Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz, and before the end of the year made himself master of the principal fortress, and ravaged the whole country. He was preparing to open another campaign, in the succeeding spring, but Gerard of Mentz, receiving no effectual assistance either from the pope or his allies, was reduced to submission. He renewed his oath of allegiance, relinquished the disputed tolls, surrendered his principal fortresses, and promised unconditional support to the king of the Romans, in all the wars undertaken for the cause of the empire, for five years. The submission of this prelate was followed by that of the elector Palatine, and the archbishops of Cologne and Treves.

This success opened the way to a reconciliation with the pope. The disputes between the papal see and Philip of France, originating from the contests relative to the tenths levied on the clergy, had risen to the greatest height; and Boniface, foiled in his attempt to shake the authority of Albert, endeavoured to detach him from the king of France. Albert accepted his overtures, and again despatched ambassadors to Rome; a reconciliation was effected, and the pope, by the plenitude of his power, removed all the irre-

gularities of his election, and designated him as a faithful son of the church. Albert on his part was not deficient in professions of devotion and duty; he publicly acknowledged that the empire of the west had been transferred by the popes from the Greeks to the Germans, in the person of Charlemagne, and that the right of choosing a king of the Romans exercised by the electors, had been derived from the see of Rome. He even bound himself by oath to defend the supremacy of the church against all the world; to oppose its enemies, whether kings or emperors; to renounce the alliances which he had contracted with powers inimical to the holy see, and to declare war against them at the orders of Boniface, or his successors.

This declaration virtually annulled the recent alliance with Philip, and Boniface instantly fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the king of France, and gave his crown to Albert. The rapacious character of Albert renders it doubtful whether the instigation of the pope might not have involved him in a war with France, had he not been prevented by the vigour and decision of Philip, by whose orders Boniface was seized at Anagni, imprisoned, and treated with such indignity that he died on the 7th of September, 1303. His successor, Benedict XI., was of a mild and peaceable character, and the change occasioned a temporary respite both in France and Germany. Benedict dying in July, 1304, Bertold de Got, a native of Gascony, was elevated to the papacy by the influence of Philip, and the see being transferred to Avignon, the popes became for a century the mere puppets of France.

During the remainder of his reign the encroaching spirit of Albert involved him in affairs which more nearly concerned his interests; and had he been inclined, he was unable to realise the pretended transfer of the crown of France. His attention was first called to the contests with Bohemia.

Many causes of misunderstanding had arisen, and were continually arising, between Albert and Wenceslaus, derived from the jarring interests of two princes of neighbouring territories, and incompatible tempers; and these disputes were alone prevented from breaking out into open ruptures by the mediation of Judith. Her death, which

happened in 1296, did not at first interrupt the harmony which she had laboured to establish between her brother and husband; and the part which Wenceslaus took in raising Albert to the imperial throne seemed likely to strengthen the connection. Albert invested Wenceslaus with all the fiefs which he held of the empire, confirmed the privileges of the crown of Bohemia, and ratified the transfer of the towns of Pirna and Dresden, which Wenceslaus had purchased from the bishop of Misnia. The refusal of Albert, however, to confirm the cession of Misnia and Lusatia, which Wenceslaus had obtained from the margrave, contributed to revive the aversion between the two sovereigns; and this aversion was increased by the jealousy which Albert entertained of the growing power and splendour of Bohemia.

At the commencement of his reign Wenceslaus had acquired the duchies of Cracow and Sandomir, by the gift of Griffina his aunt, widow of the last duke, Lesko, and in 1300 he obtained the crown of Poland. On the death of Premislaus II. without issue in 1296, Ladislaus Loketec succeeded to the throne, but was expelled by the nation for his arbitrary and licentious conduct, and the crown conferred on Wenceslaus, on condition of his espousing Elizabeth, daughter of Premislaus. He had scarcely taken possession of the kingdom before the death of Andrew, the Venetian, opened a new prospect of grandeur and power. Charles Martel dying in 1295, left his claims on Hungary to his son Charles Robert, or Carobert, who being invested with that kingdom by pope Boniface VIII., as a fief of the Roman see, was supported by a party in the country, and crowned at Gran. A more powerful combination, however, indignant at the interference of the pope, opposed his elevation, and chose Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia, who was equally descended from Bela IV., and affianced to Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew. Carobert was accordingly driven out by the assistance of the Bohemians, and the young king inaugurated at Alba Legia, with the crown of St. Stephen. The pope thundered a bull of excommunication; but his threats being despised, and his legate expelled from Hungary, he appealed to Albert to support the papal

see, and to assert the claims of his nephew the prince of Naples.*

Albert eagerly listened to the overtures of the pope. He required Wenceslaus to surrender the crowns of Poland and Hungary to the rightful claimants, demanded the district of Egra, with the cession of his pretensions on Misnia, and the silver mines of Kuttenberg for six years, or the payment of 80,000 marks of silver. These demands being indignantly rejected by Wenceslaus, Albert put him under the ban of the empire, and prepared to invade Bohemia. He collected an army in Suabia, and marched into Bohemia, and being joined at Budweiss by his son Rhodolph, at the head of a mixed body of Hungarians, Austrians, and Bulgarians, laid siege to Kuttenberg. He hoped to make an easy capture, as Wenceslaus had led an army as far as Buda, to bring back his son, whose party was rapidly declining; but meeting with unexpected resistance from the miners, and Wenceslaus returning with celerity from Hungary, Albert broke up his camp, and retreated in disorder. Irritated by this disappointment, he again fulminated the ban of the empire, and made vast preparations to prosecute the war the approaching year. The death of Wenceslaus in June, 1305, prevented the renewal of the contest. His son and successor, Wenceslaus III., a weak and inexperienced prince, only in the seventeenth year of his age, purchased a peace by ceding the district of Egra, and his right to the margraviate of Misnia, and by consenting to do homage for the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland. Albert accordingly released him from the ban of the empire, and confirmed the privileges of Bohemia in the customary form. Wenceslaus, afterwards preparing to lead an army into Poland against Ladislaus Loketec, who had occupied the duchies of Cracow and Sandomir, was assassinated at Olmutz, on the 4th of August 1306, and left no issue.

This event awakened the aspiring views of Albert, and he prepared to transfer the crown of Bohemia to his own family. Like many other kingdoms of Europe, at that period, Bohemia was considered as an elective monarchy, though the crown was always continued in the same line, and the eldest son was chosen or confirmed during the

* Bonfinius — Giannone — Muratori.

lifetime of the father. Wenceslaus being the last male of the ancient dynasty, the throne was open to different pretenders. Henry of Carinthia, became a candidate in virtue of his marriage with Anne, eldest sister of the deceased monarch; but Albert claimed the disposal of the crown, both as a fief of the empire, and in virtue of the compact between Rhodolph and Wenceslaus II., which entailed Bohemia on the Austrian family, in default of issue male. He accordingly proposed his eldest son Rhodolph, who strengthened his claims by promising to espouse Elizabeth*, widow of Wenceslaus II., and was supported by a powerful party of the nobles.

The states assembled at Prague, and the votes were divided between Henry of Carinthia, and Rhodolph of Austria. The sisters of the late king came barefooted into the assembly, and supplicated with tears for Henry of Carinthia; but their entreaties were disregarded, and Rhodolph was chosen on the 1st of April, 1306. Accompanied by his father, and at the head of a considerable force, he entered Prague in triumph, and fulfilled his promise of marrying the widowed queen. At the same time Albert obtained the formal renewal of the compact, which seemed to insure the succession of his own family.

A mild and moderate system of conduct would have conciliated the natives, and fulfilled the accomplishment of his wishes, but such a conduct was not consonant to the character of Albert. By his influence Rhodolph, though naturally mild and amiable, imposed heavy taxes on his subjects, disregarded their prejudices and customs, stripped the churches of their costly ornaments, and persecuted the bishop of Prague, who remonstrated against this sacrilege. A large party of nobles broke into open revolt, the spirit of discontent spread with rapidity, and the whole nation seemed eager to take up arms against the Austrian despotism. To quell these commotions, Rhodolph collected an army; but while he was besieging the fortress of Horazdovitz, he was hurried to the grave by a dysentery, in July, 1307, at the age of twenty-two, and before he had completed the first year of a precarious and disputed sovereignty.

* Blanch, the first wife of Rhodolph, died in April, 1305.

On this event, Frederic, the second son of Albert, was proposed to the states, who met in the episcopal palace of Prague. When Tobias of Bechina, a nobleman of high rank, named Frederic of Austria, the assembly exclaimed, "We will have no Austrian king!" Bechnia tauntingly observing, "You will perhaps again choose a peasant from the village of Staditz*, and marry him to the widowed queen," a tumult arose; the most violent drew their sabres; Bechnia, with two others of the Austrian party were massacred, and Henry of Carinthia raised to the throne by unanimous acclamation.

The haughty spirit of Albert, affected with the loss of Bohemia, was still more deeply wounded by the contemptuous rejection of his son. He accordingly asserted his claims in arms, and accompanied by Frederic, whom he declared king of Bohemia, led a powerful body of troops from Germany into the kingdom, and laid siege to Kuttenberg and Colin. But the approach of winter, the desultory attacks of the Bohemian forces, the obstinate resistance of the garrisons, and the severity of the season, at length compelled him to retire. He did not, however relinquish his object, but placing garrisons in Konigsgratz, and other fortified towns, which had been yielded to him by Elizabeth, drew his troops into Austria, and determined to return in spring with a still more powerful army.

Albert had availed himself of the short interval during which his son held quiet possession of Bohemia, to support the pretensions of his nephew Charles of Naples, in opposition to Otho of Bavaria, who was lineally descended from Bela IV., and had been raised to the throne of Hungary, by the anti-papal party in 1306. He entered Hungary with a considerable army, but did little more than devastate the country, till he was called to defend his own territories against an irruption of the Hungarians.†

* The place from whence the ancient line of kings was supposed to be derived.

† Fortune, and the rising talents and personal appearance of the young prince, at length promoted his claims more than all the efforts of his uncle, or the pope; for Otho was arrested, by the waivode of Transylvannia, to whom he had applied for assistance, and forced to cede his dignity. On recovering his liberty he quitted, without re-

He likewise engaged in a war for the possession of Misnia and Thuringia, which he endeavoured to appropriate as fiefs of the empire. Those countries had been purchased by Adolphus from Albert, landgrave of Thuringia, who deprived his legitimate offspring of their inheritance, to secure an establishment for a natural son, by a concubine whom he afterwards married. Even in these times of misrule and anarchy, this contract was deemed disgraceful, and the states of the empire formed an association in support of the disinherited princes. Adolphus, however, asserted his claims by force of arms, and this unjust aggression was made one of the causes of complaint which occasioned his deposition.

On the death of Adolphus, a small part of these disputed territories was occupied by the imperial troops, and the remainder possessed by the rightful claimants. Albert having succeeded to the throne, cast an eager eye on Misnia and Thuringia; and as Philip of Nassau, the brother of Adolphus, likewise preferred his claims, he affected to act the part of an impartial judge, and summoned before the diet of Fulda Albert the margrave, his two sons, Frederic and Dietman, and the deputies of the towns. But the two sons not appearing, were declared refractory, divested of their estates, and put under the ban of the empire; and Albert was preparing to carry the sentence into execution, when he was diverted from his purpose by the death of Wenceslaus III., in 1307. Having succeeded in raising his son Rhodolph to the throne of Bohemia, he sent an army into Thuringia. This flagrant act of injustice excited the indignation of many of the German states; succours poured in from all quarters, and Frederic, at the head of a considerable force, attacked and totally routed the imperial troops at Luchau. Albert, however, did not relinquish his object; though prevented by the death of his son, and the succeeding troubles in Bohemia, from attempting to retrieve the disgrace of his arms in person, he made vast preparations to renew the contest, and repaired to Suabia for the purpose of collecting troops to invade Bohe-

gret, a throne beset with troubles and dangers, and retired to his own territories. The throne remained vacant a year; and, after the death of Albert, Carobert was elected king.

mia and Thuringia at the same time. But at this juncture the insurrection of the Swiss called his attention to another quarter.

Helvetia, or, as it is now called, Switzerland, at this period was divided into small sovereignties and baronial fiefs, the imperial cities of Zurich, Bern, Basle, and Schaffhausen, the demesnes of the church, and the small states or cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden, which, though dependent on the empire, enjoyed a democratic form of government.* Among the sovereigns, the most conspicuous were the counts of Savoy, and the house of Hapsburg, which had considerably increased in power and territory by the elevation of Rhodolph and Albert, who, as chiefs of the empire, possessed the right of appointing bailiffs in the imperial cities and districts, for the purpose of administering the criminal jurisdiction.

At the suggestion of Albert, Rhodolph seems to have formed the design of acquiring the sovereignty of the ecclesiastical and baronial territories, and having thus encompassed the free cities and democratic states, either to obtain their voluntary submission, or compel the refractory to acknowledge his authority. In consequence of this design, Rhodolph made considerable purchases, particularly of Friburgh from the house of Kyburg, and of the town of Lucern from the abbey of Murbach, with the seignioral rights in several villages of the district of Schweitz. These acquisitions excited jealousies and discontent among the natives of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, and gave birth to an association by which they bound themselves not to submit to foreign jurisdiction. The temperate spirit of Rhodolph yielded to the opposition of a people so jealous of their liberties, and from whom he had received such essential services; he accordingly quieted their apprehensions by a solemn confirmation of their privileges, as head of the empire, and this act was confirmed by Adolphus.

Soon after the death of Rhodolph, Albert manifested his intention of appropriating or subjugating the free districts of Helvetia. The natives of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden,

* According to Watteville there were no less than 50 counts, 150 barons, and 1000 noble families.

justly apprehensive of his rapacious character and powerful resources, held a general assembly to renew their confederacy, and assert their independence. They also espoused the cause of Adolphus, and assisted him with a small but chosen body of their bravest troops. On the death of Adolphus, and the election of Albert, a general panic spread through all the people of the Alps; and their alarms were increased by the declaration of Albert to their deputies, who requested him, as chief of the empire, to confirm their privileges, that he intended to propose an alteration in their government.

Before, however, he attempted to subjugate these brave and spirited people, he increased his influence and acquisitions in Switzerland. He pacified the citizens of Zurich by confirming their privileges, obtained the advocacies of the abbeys of St. Gallen, and Einsidlin, demolished the castles of the petty lords in the district of Glarus, who had adhered to Adolphus, and by purchase and intrigue, acquired the supreme authority in various parts, from the lake of Thun, to the heart of the country inhabited by the Grisons. Having thus nearly surrounded the Swiss by his extensive domains, he summoned them to submit to his authority. His haughty spirit was little affected by the simple answer of these free mountaineers: "We are partial to the condition of our forefathers, and only desire the confirmation of our privileges." He disdained to listen to their remonstrances, and placed over them governors, whose tyrannical and capricious administration at length roused the natives to assert their injured rights.

Under the auspices of three patriots, Furst, Melchthal, and Staffacher, the plan of a general insurrection was secretly formed, and the revolution, which gave liberty to Switzerland, burst forth in Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, on the 13th of January, 1308. The governors were expelled, their castles seized, and the whole people rose, as with one accord, to defy the power of the house of Austria, and of the head of the empire.

Albert, confident of his superior force, rejoiced at this insurrection as affording a pretext for subjugating the natives of a territory which he had long coveted, postponed the

intended invasion of Bohemia and Thuringia, and was preparing to lead an army into Switzerland, when his life and reign were closed by the hand of violence.

His nephew John having attained his nineteenth year, had in vain demanded the possession of his inheritance.* Irritated by repeated denials, and inflamed by many nobles of Argau and Kyburgh, who were dissatisfied with the rigid government of Albert, he formed a conspiracy against his uncle with four confidential adherents of illustrious birth; Walter of Eschenbach his governor, Rhodolph of Wart, Rhodolph of Balm, and Conrad of Tegelfield, all of whom had considerable possessions and influence in the counties of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden.

Albert, accompanied by his family and a numerous train, among whom were John and the four conspirators, was on the road to Rheinfelden, where his consort Elizabeth had assembled a considerable force. As he rested at Baden, for the purpose of refreshment, the young prince again demanded the immediate possession of his inheritance; but Albert offering him a chaplet of flowers, with the observation, that it better became his years than the cares of government, the insulted prince burst into tears, indignantly threw the chaplet on the ground, and was confirmed in his resolution to execute his horrid design.

Arriving on the bank of the Reuss, opposite Windisch, the conspirators first passed over the ferry, and were followed by Albert, who crossed with a single attendant, leaving his son Leopold, and the rest of his suite, on the other side of the river. As he rode slowly through the fields, at the foot of the hills crowned by the castle of Hapsburgh, familiarly conversing with his attendant, he was suddenly assailed by the conspirators, one of whom seized the bridle of his horse. His nephew exclaiming,

* Many disputes have arisen concerning the territory claimed by John. Some have absurdly supposed that it was the duchy of Suabia, which was never possessed by Rhodolph or Albert; and others, that it was a part of the Austrian dominions, of which Albert by the imperial investiture, was the sole administrator. This territory was undoubtedly part of the hereditary domains of the Houses of Hapsburgh and Kyburgh; and most probably the counties of Kyburgh, Lentzburgh, and Baden.

"Will you now restore my inheritance?" wounded him in the neck; Balm pierced him in the body, and Eschenbach clove his head with a sabre; Wart, the other conspirator, stood aghast; the attendant fled; and the king, falling from his horse, was left weltering in his blood. His son Leopold, and his attendants, were the terrified spectators of the atrocious deed, and when they had passed the river, found the king just expired in the arms of a poor woman who had hastened to his assistance.

The assassins, recoiling with horror, fled in different directions. Some escaped into the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, expecting to find an asylum among a people whom Albert was preparing so unjustly to invade; but the generous natives, detesting so atrocious a deed, though committed on their inveterate enemy, refused to protect the murderers. They all suffered the punishment due to their crime, either by the hand of the executioner, or as outcasts from society, lingering out a wretched existence in want and obscurity. John of Hapsburgh, after wandering in the mountains and concealing himself in holes and caverns, escaped in the disguise of a friar into Italy. Stung with the pangs of conscience, he discovered himself to Clement V., who gave him absolution, but delivered him to the emperor Henry VII., and he was confined in the convent of Augustins at Pisa, where he died in 1313.*

The character of Albert has been more stigmatised than it deserved by the passions or prejudices of historians; and seems to have suffered from too near a comparison with the splendid talents, insinuating manners, and winning disposition of his illustrious father. He was a tender and faithful husband, a fond and affectionate parent, and was in return almost adored by his family. He equally abhorred flattery and slander, possessed a just sense of propriety and decorum, a perfect control over his passions, and was superior to the allurements of pleasure, or the attractions of ease. He was distinguished for military talents, and was scarcely inferior to any personage, who

* Ebendorf, author of the Austrian Chronicle, asserts, that he saw a natural son of John, by a woman who accompanied him in his vagabond life, an aged and blind beggar, at Vienna.

has obtained the admiration of mankind, in firmness, decision, activity, valour, promptitude, and energy. As chief of the empire, he held the reins of government with a vigorous hand; maintained the public peace with a vigilance equal to his father; and, though devout in the exercises of religion, resisted with becoming dignity the arrogant pretensions of the see of Rome, and curbed the encroaching spirit of the ecclesiastical electors. But as a sovereign he was arrogant and despotic, of a restless and rapacious disposition, and he pursued his schemes for the advancement of his family with an inflexible pertinacity, and with little regard either to the feelings of pity or the sentiments of justice. Uncouth and vulgar in appearance, ferocious and unseemly in aspect, gloomy and reserved by habit and constitution, even his good qualities were obscured, and his failings exaggerated, by his personal defects, and, to adopt the strong language of the Swiss historian, "Virtue in him bore the semblance of selfishness."

Elizabeth, wife of Albert, was daughter of Meinhard, duke of Carinthia, by Elizabeth, daughter of Otho, count Palatine, and widow of the emperor Conrad IV. She was born in 1263, espoused Albert in 1276, and after the murder of her husband, retired to the convent of Konigsfelden, and died in 1313. She bore Albert twenty children, of whom eleven died in their infancy; the others were four sons and five daughters.

Rhodolph, who became king of Bohemia, was born in 1285, and died in 1307, before his father. He espoused, first, Blanch, daughter of Philip the Handsome, king of France; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Premislaus, king of Poland; by both of whom he left no issue. The other sons, of whom an account is contained in the succeeding chapters, were Frederic, Leopold, Albert, Henry, and Otho.

The daughters were—

1. Anne, who espoused, in 1295, Herman the Long, margrave of Brandenburgh; and, secondly, Henry, duke of Breslau, and died in 1326.

2. Elizabeth, wife of Frederic IV., duke of Loraine; she became, after his death, guardian to their children, and died in 1352.

3. Agnes, remarkable for her piety, which, according to the custom of the times, degenerated into superstition. During her maidenhood she was distinguished for fervour in devotional exercises; and in her widowhood retired to a hermitage near Konigsfelden, and expended all her property in alms and ecclesiastical foundations. The emperor Charles IV. admired and extolled her understanding and foresight, and frequently paid her a visit. She married Andrew, king of Hungary, in 1296, and obtained the castle of Presburgh, with all the dependent districts, as her dower, and died in 1364, aged eighty-four.

4. Catherine, much admired for her beauty and elegance, was betrothed to the emperor Henry VII.; but he died as she was on her journey to espouse him. At length she married, in 1313, Charles, prince of Calabria, and died in 1324.

5. Judith, who seems to have espoused Louis, count of Oettingen, and died in 1329.

Chap. VII.—FREDERIC and LEOPOLD.—1308–1330.

In the first moment of suspense and consternation the family of Albert considered his assassination as the signal concerted for a general revolt; but when their alarm had subsided, and the conspirators were found to be only a few discontented individuals, they hastened to avenge his death, and to punish the adherents and families of the assassins. Frederic and Leopold, the two elder sons, captured and razed their fortresses, put the garrisons to the sword, and sated their vengeance on all who were in the least degree connected with them. Their domestics were indiscriminately massacred, their estates confiscated, and their families reduced to extreme poverty. Sixty-three retainers to the lord of Balm were in one day beheaded, in the presence of Leopold and his sister Agnes, though the unfortunate victims uniformly protested their innocence. During this slaughter the savage Agnes is said to have repeatedly exclaimed, from the Legend of St. Elizabeth,

"Now I bathe in May-dew!" a proverb expressing the most delicious pleasure. It was with great difficulty she could be prevailed upon to spare the infant child of the lord of Eschenbach, whom the soldiers of her party, moved by its affecting cries, rescued from her hands at the instant she was preparing to strangle it; and above a thousand lives are supposed to have been sacrificed to the manes of the deceased monarch. Inconsolable for the loss of Albert, his widow, in conjunction with Agnes, built and endowed a magnificent convent at Konigsfelden*, on the spot where he was assassinated, and where they both passed their lives in monastic austerity. Agnes surpassed the most devout nuns in fasting, praying, giving alms, and working costly implements for the church; but history records with pleasure the answer of an aged hermit to her offer of an asylum in the convent: "Woman," said he, "God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by compassion and forgiveness of injuries!"

The paternal as well as the acquired dominions of Albert were jointly inherited by his five sons; but according to the investiture, and to family compacts, the administration of the Austrian provinces was vested in Frederic; and as the three younger were of a tender age, Leopold assumed the government of the territories in Suabia, Alsace, and Switzerland.

These two brothers, on whom the fortunes of the House of Austria now depended, were strikingly contrasted both in their persons and characters. Frederic, who was in the twenty-third year of his age, was tall and well proportioned, and surnamed the Handsome, from the elegance of his person, and the beauty of his countenance. He was the most amiable and accomplished prince of his age; and though brave even to rashness, was of a mild, benevolent, and conciliating temper. Leopold, who was sixteen, was

* This extensive establishment contained a monastery for monks of the order of Minorites, and a nunnery of the order of St. Clare. Many members of the Austrian family were buried within the precincts, and various portraits of the early princes are still preserved on the walls and in the windows. This convent was secularised at the Reformation.

diminutive and deformed in person, of a fiery, restless, and impatient temper, and had already given proofs of those splendid and military talents which afterwards procured him the title of the Glory of Knighthood.

Frederic became a candidate for the imperial throne; but the recollection of the rigid government and unpopularity of the father had a greater effect than the splendid talents and amiable qualities of the son. Charles of Valois, brother to the king of France, and several German princes, were also candidates; but on the 29th of November, 1308, Henry, count of Luxemburgh, was unanimously chosen, by the influence of his brother Baldwin, elector of Treves, and by the powerful assistance of Peter, archbishop of Mentz. He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and his appointment was confirmed by Clement V.

The elevation of Henry to the imperial dignity not only disappointed the hopes of the Austrian princes, but frustrated their views on Bohemia, as by a concurrence of fortunate circumstances the new emperor was enabled to place his son John on that throne. Henry of Carinthia had alienated the natives, no less by his tyrannical proceedings and heavy impositions, than by intrusting to his Carinthian subjects the principal fortresses and the most important offices of state. A strong party, equally adverse to the duke of Carinthia, and to the house of Austria, released Elizabeth, youngest sister of Wenceslaus III., from prison, where she had been confined by Henry of Carinthia, claimed the protection of the king of the Romans, and offered her in marriage to John, together with the crown. Henry eagerly embraced this opportunity of aggrandizing his family; he accepted their offer, and, with the consent of the electors, solemnly proclaimed, in the diet of Nuremberg, Henry of Carinthia guilty of felony for having forcibly possessed himself of Bohemia, without the imperial authority. He at the same time declared that kingdom a fief reverted to the empire, and gave the investiture to his son, who soon after this ceremony espoused Elizabeth. Having collected a considerable army from the states and princes of the empire, John entered Bohemia, and advanced to Prague, whither Henry of Carinthia had drawn the greater part of his troops: the burghers rose, and admitted him into the little

town. Henry, with his own forces, retired into the citadel, and when John was preparing to storm it, retreated by night, and, with his queen, quitted Bohemia. John convoked a diet in December, 1310, in which he received the crown, and confirmed the privileges of the nation; he drove the Carinthians from their strong-holds and fortresses in Bohemia and Moravia, obtained, by treaty, possession of the towns which had been delivered to the Austrians by Elizabeth, and before the close of 1312, became master of the whole country.

During the invasion of Bohemia, the states had claimed for the new king, Austria, Styria, and Carniola, in virtue of the investiture granted to Ottocar by Richard of Cornwall, and the emperor summoned the dukes of Austria to surrender those fiefs. To this summons Frederic replied, "Tell him that within the space of fifty years Austria has been the grave of five sovereign princes, and Henry of Luxemburgh may be the sixth, if he dares to trouble us in our legitimate possessions." But as the emperor had only brought forward this claim with a view to extort the acquiescence of the Austrian princes in the new settlement of the crown of Bohemia, and as the sons of Albert were embarrassed with the affairs of Switzerland, and apprehensive of commotions in the Austrian provinces, both parties readily agreed to a compromise, which was arranged on the 17th of September, 1309. Henry publicly invested them with the dominions of their father; and they, in return, engaged to pay 20,000 marks of silver, to renounce their pretensions on the crown of Bohemia, to assist the new king in asserting his claims, and to accompany Henry with a considerable force in his intended expedition into Italy. In return the emperor proclaimed the sentence of death against John the murderer of Albert, transferred his dominions to the dukes of Austria, and permitted them to retain the estates which they had wrested from the families of the assassins.

Having avenged the murder of their father, and attended the funeral cavalcade to the burial place of the emperors at Spire, whither it was transferred from the abbey of Wittingen, the dukes of Austria prepared to fulfil their promise of accompanying the emperor into Italy. At the moment

of their departure, Frederic was called into his Austrian dominions, to quell an insurrection of his subjects, and to oppose the invasion of Otho, duke of Bavaria, who had taken Neuburgh, and invested Pirnstein; but on his arrival he found tranquillity restored by the vigilance and activity of Ulric of Waldsee, governor of Styria. Having severely punished the guilty, he formed an alliance with the king of Hungary, the duke of Carinthia, and the archbishop of Saltzburgh, retook Neuburgh, and at the head of 15,000 men, entered Bavaria, captured Reith, and devastating the country with fire and sword, laid siege to Scharding. He was forced to retreat by the approach of the Bavarians; and in 1312 an accommodation was effected at Passau, by means of his mother Elizabeth, and Rhodolph and Louis, counts palatine of Bavaria. This pacification was of short continuance; for Otho dying before the close of the year, left the guardianship of his own sons, and those of his deceased brother Stephen, to Louis. At the same time a party in the states of Bavaria refused to acknowledge this disposition, and assigned the guardianship to the Austrian princes. Hostilities ensued; and Frederic being defeated at Sammelsdorff, yielded his pretensions to Louis, who obtained possession of the country, and assumed the administration.

During these events, Leopold had accompanied the emperor into Italy, at the head of 1,500 men at arms, and 200 knights, and performed essential services in the contests which took place between the two parties of the pope and the emperor, who, under the ancient names of Guelfs and Ghibelins, had filled Italy with desolation and anarchy. The magnanimous spirit and military prowess of Leopold captivated the affections of so frank and warlike a prince as Henry; and he still more secured his esteem and confidence by quelling an insurrection at Milan, raised by the Guelfs, soon after the inauguration of Henry as king of Lombardy. At the moment when the life of the emperor was exposed to the most imminent danger, Leopold hastened from the suburbs at the head of 1,400 men, dispersed the insurgents, and drove the Torriani and other chiefs of the Guefls from the city. Leopold continued to assist his sovereign, in the violent contests which he experienced in

his progress through Italy, from the intrigues of the pope, and the opposition of Robert, king of Naples, accompanied him to Rome, and was present at his coronation in the church of St. John at Lateran.*

In gratitude for these and other essential services, Henry gave the Austrian prince many proofs of his high favour and regard; he loaded him with valuable presents, and formally invested him with the lands which he had wrested from the assassins of his father. He betrothed the favoured prince to Catherine of Savoy, niece of his deceased wife, and sought a more intimate connection with the Austrian family by affiancing himself to Catherine, sister of Leopold. The intended empress, accompanied by her mother, had already crossed the Alps and reached the Tesino, when Henry expired in the fifty-second year of his age, at Buonconvento, near Siena, as he was preparing to carry his arms into the kingdom of Naples.†

The death of Henry again opened to the Austrian princes the prospect of the imperial crown; and they spared neither intrigues nor money, nor the exertion of that great influence which they possessed in the empire, to secure the nomination of Frederic.

Unfortunately for Germany, the votes of the three ecclesiastical electors were alone fixed and permanent; while those of the secular electors were jointly possessed by the different members or branches of the same family; and in case of a disagreement it was not decided that the vote could be exclusively exercised by the eldest representative. Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburgh were thus divided; Rhodolph and Louis, the two sons of Louis the Severe, elector of Bavaria, had been engaged in continual contests on the joint administration of the government, the division of their territories, and the exercise of the

* Such was the confused state of Rome at this period, that the Vatican and the adjacent parts of the city were occupied by the Neapolitan troops, and continual skirmishes took place between them and the imperial forces.

† His death was attributed to a poisoned host, given him in the administration of the sacrament by Bernard di Montepulciano, a dominican friar. This report was at first readily circulated and believed by the Imperial or Ghibeline party, but rests on no other shadow of proof than the critical moment of Henry's death.

electoral vote; but by a recent compact it was agreed that they should participate in the administration of affairs, and that the vote should be exercised by Rhodolph during his life, and afterwards alternately by the two lines. The vote of Saxony was claimed by Rhodolph elector of Saxony, of the Albertine line, and by his cousin John, duke of Saxe Lauenburgh; and the vote of Brandenburgh was in the same manner divided between Waldemar, margrave of Brandenburgh, and his brother Henry of Landsberg.

Of these Frederic obtained a promise of support in writing from Rhodolph of Bavaria, Albert of Saxony, and Henry of Landsberg: and from Louis of Bavaria an engagement not to contravene his election. He secured also the vote of Cologne, by affiancing his brother Henry to Elizabeth, niece of the archbishop, and gained Henry of Carinthia, who disputed the throne of Bohemia with John of Luxemburgh. With a view to secure the support of the pope and the Guelphs, and to conciliate the king of France, Frederic sent troops into Italy, and married his sister Catherine to Charles, prince of Calabria, son of Robert, king of Naples. His amiable qualities, his liberality and persuasive eloquence, had also gained many of the princes and states; but he was opposed by a powerful and numerous party, who were attached to the interests of the House of Luxemburgh. John, king of Bohemia, was aware that the elevation of an Austrian prince would endanger his newly-acquired throne; as his turbulent subjects, accustomed to a change of masters, had evinced a dislike to his government. He united himself with Peter, archbishop of Mentz, who fostered an inveterate enmity to the Austrian family, and he was supported by his uncle, the elector of Treves. They contrived to gain Waldemar of Brandenburgh: by his means they detached Henry of Landsberg from the Austrian party, and secured the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh. Having thus obtained a majority, they privately offered the crown to Louis of Bavaria; after some difficulty they overcame his scruples in regard to the fulfilment of his promise to Frederic, and quieted his apprehensions of the Austrian power, by engaging to assist him with their whole force.

A year had now elapsed since the death of Henry; and

at the appointed day of election the two parties assembled. Rhodolph of Bavaria, who was intrusted with the proxy of the elector of Cologne, Rhodolph of Saxony, and Henry of Carinthia, on the part of Austria, at Saxenhausen; and on the other side, the electors of Mentz and Treves, John of Bohemia, John of Saxe Lauenburgh, and Waldemar of Brandenburgh, with the agreement of his brother Henry, in the suburbs of Frankfort, at the ancient place of election. On the 9th of October, 1314, the Austrian party chose Frederic; and within a few days the party of Luxemburgh, after inviting the adherents of Austria to join them, elected Louis of Bavaria. The city of Frankfort opened its gates to Louis, who was elevated on the high altar of the cathedral, and presented in the cemetry to the people and clergy; Aix-la-Chapelle also received the new sovereign, and he was crowned by the elector of Mentz with the usual solemnities. Frederic, on the departure of Louis, having in vain demanded admission into Frankfort, invested the town; but being obliged to raise the siege for want of provisions, he repaired to Bonn, where he was crowned by the elector of Cologne. The greater part of the imperial cities followed the example of Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle, and acknowledged Louis, who possessed the majority of uncontested votes.*

Both parties appealed to the states of the empire, and to the future pope who should succeed Clement the Fifth, recently deceased, and prepared to maintain their dignity by arms. Leopold, with a considerable body of troops, drawn from the dominions of Hapsburgh, advanced to Spire, where Louis was encamped, and overran and devastated the neighbouring country. On the approach of Frederic, with a reinforcement to his brother, Louis re-

* Electors in favour of Frederic:	Electors for Louis:
Rhodolph of Bavaria.	Elector of Mentz.
Elector of Cologne.	Elector of Treves.
†Rhodolph of Saxony.	†John, king of Bohemia.
†Henry of Carinthia, as king of Bohemia.	†John, duke of Saxe Lauenburgh.
	Waldemar of Brandenburgh, in concurrence with his brother Henry.

Those marked † were contested votes.

treated towards Bavaria, secured Augsburgh, which seemed inclined to join the Austrians, and compelled his brother Rhodolph to acknowledge him as Emperor. Leopold followed him into Bavaria, and besieged Landsberg ; but being driven back by Louis, repaired to Basle, in July 1315, where Frederic had assembled a diet.

Here the Austrian princes solemnized their nuptials with Elizabeth of Arragon and Catherine of Savoy, and wasted this important juncture in feasts and tournaments. At the close of the festival, instead of directing their united efforts against their rival, Frederic engaged with Louis, while Leopold commenced hostilities against the three Swiss cantons, who had espoused the Bavarian party.

Leopold seized the pretext of a dispute between the convent of Einsidlin, of which he was advocate, and the natives of Schweitz, who had surrounded the abbey, and seized four of the canons and the schoolmaster, in revenge for an insult on some Swiss pilgrims. He considered the reduction of this country as an easy task, and vain of his military skill and superior force, boasted that he would trample the audacious rustics under his feet. He assembled 20,000 men, and hastened to put his threat in execution : 4000 on the side of Oberhasli were to pass by Mount Brunig into Underwalden; a body of 1000 from Lucern was to make a diversion by Stantz, and he himself intended to march from Zug with 15,000, and penetrate to Schweitz.

The northern inlets of the country being fortified with strong entrenchments and towers, only two passages led towards Schweitz. The first was the pass of Art, along the foot of the crags which border the lake of Zug, impracticable for armed cavalry; the other led through the straits of Morgarten, about three miles in length, between the lake Egeri and the heights rising above the village of Morgarten, from which it derives its name.

The Swiss, hardy and brave from their modes of life and forms of government, disdained to submit to a foreign power, and beheld the gathering of the storm without dismay, though with the interest due to the importance of the cause in which they were engaged. Fourteen hundred *

* Four hundred from Uri, three hundred from Underwalden, and seven hundred Swiss.

men, the flower of their youth, grasped their arms, and assembled at the town of Schweitz. A solemn fast being proclaimed, they passed the day in religious exercises and chanting hymns, and kneeling down in the open air, petitioned "the God of heaven and earth to listen to their lowly prayers, and humble the pride and arrogance of their enemies." By the advice of an experienced veteran they took post on the heights of Morgarten, and with the same spirit which had animated the Greeks at the strait of Thermopylæ, waited the approach of the enemy. Fifty outlaws also, who had been expelled from Schweitz, petitioned the magistrates that they might share the danger of the day with their countrymen; and, though rejected, occupied an eminence commanding the entrance of the pass.

At the dawn of the morning (November 16.) the Austrians were seen advancing in all the pomp of war, and flushed with the hope of certain conquest. The cavalry, on whom the warriors of that day placed their principal reliance, armed from head to foot, led the way, and were followed by the infantry in a compact body. When they began to fill the strait, and stretch along the borders of the lake, the fifty exiles raised a sudden shout, and hurled among them huge blocks of timber, heaps of stones, and fragments of rock. This unexpected assault threw the column into confusion; and the confederates, perceiving the impression, rushed down from the heights, and charged the enemy in close array with their clubs, halberts, and pikes. Cramped by the narrowness of the defile, the Austrians were unable to make any evolution, and their embarrassment was increased by the effects of a hoar frost. Many of the horse leaped into the lake, and the remainder recoiled on their infantry, who, unaware of the attack, and unable to open their files, were run over, dispersed, or trampled to death; numbers were driven into the lake, crushed by their companions, or fell by the hands of an enraged enemy. Not less than fifteen hundred, most of whom were nobles or knights, were slain in the rout, and Leopold himself with difficulty escaped under the guidance of a peasant to Winterthur, where he arrived in the evening, gloomy, exhausted, and dismayed.*

* According to the account of this singular engagement given by

At the close of evening the Underwalders, apprised of the advance of the body from Lucern, embarked with a hundred Swiss on the lake, and landing at Buchs, attacked and dispersed the enemy. Notwithstanding the exertions of this arduous day, the victorious troops, joined by a few of their countrymen, hastened to Alpnach, where the four thousand had taken a strong position. The Austrians, beholding the victorious banners of the Swiss, and hearing the shouts of exultation, were panic struck, and began to retreat; but were attacked by the confederates, and, notwithstanding the exertions of their commander, driven back in disorder over the mountains towards Lucern.

The three cantons in a public assembly declared the anniversary of this day, "in which the God of Hosts had visited his people, and given them the victory over their enemies," a solemn festival, and ordered the names and heroic deeds of those champions, who had fallen in defence of their country, to be annually recited to the people. They also rendered perpetual their ancient league, which had hitherto been renewed every tenth year, and obtained a confirmation of their confederacy from the head of the empire.

The humiliating defeat of the Austrian forces by an enemy whom they had despised and insulted, checked their efforts against Louis, and diminished the confidence of their adherents; a desultory war was carried on during the three succeeding years, but it was attended with so little effect, that Louis was enabled to drive his brother Rhodolph into exile, and to occupy the whole Bavarian territories. Nor could the Austrian princes, during this period, retrieve the disgrace of their arms in Helvetia; for Leopold, in 1318, having invested Soleure, met with so spirited a resistance that he raised the siege, and soon afterwards concluded an armistice with the three cantons.

John of Winterthur, the historian of the times, "Many perished in this contest, and nothing was heard but lamentation and groans. Only one citizen of Winterthur was killed, who unfortunately separated from his companions and joined the nobles and knights. The others returned sound and unhurt. Among these was the duke, who seemed half dead from affliction. I saw these things with my own eyes, as I stood with my schoolfellows at the gate of the town."

Delivered from this fruitless contest, the Austrian princes again turned their arms against Louis, and the two following years were spent in a succession of combats, by which both parties were equally exhausted, and Germany was desolated from one extremity to the other. At length the Austrians gained the advantage, and Louis, deserted by some of his allies, feebly supported by others, and lamenting the devastation of his dominions, was on the point of sinking under the superior forces of his adversaries. In this distress he obtained succours from the king of Bohemia, by promising to invest him with the margraviate of Brandenburgh *, which had recently become vacant, and drew supplies from the princes and states of his party. By these means he assembled an army of 30,000 foot, and 1500 horse, in the vicinity of Munich, and resolved to terminate this arduous contest by a battle.

The Austrian princes on their side made equal preparations for the subjugation of Bavaria. Leopold collected a considerable force in his Helvetic dominions, and was to advance on the side of Germany, while Frederic, at the head of the Austrian troops, and his Hungarian auxiliaries, forming an army of 18,000 foot, 4000 archers, and 7000 horse, burst into Bavaria, and entrenched himself in the plain between Muhldorf and Ettingen, to wait the arrival of his brother.

Happy if he had followed this prudent determination; but his gallant spirit was hurried away by youthful ardour, and he gave battle to Louis, hoping to supply the absence of Leopold by his own intrepidity and the bravery of his troops. Disdaining all idea of fear, and anxious for the pre-eminence in danger, as he was pre-eminent in dignity, he arrayed himself in splendid armour, emblazoned with the Austrian eagle, and wore a helmet surmounted with a crown of gold, as a signal for his troops in the hour of battle. Louis prepared for the encounter with more prudence, but with no less magnanimity. Armed with a

* The two lines of the ancient House of Brandenburgh became extinct by the deaths of Waldemar in 1319, and of Henry the Young in 1320. Sophia, the sister of Henry, who was married to Magnus, duke of Brunswick, obtained, in 1333, the investiture of the territory of Landsberg.

simple coat of mail, distinguished only by a white cross, and with no peculiar mark of royalty, he placed himself in the centre, close to the imperial standard, and intrusted the command to Sifrid Schwepperman, one of the most experienced generals of the age. The battle was long and obstinate, and continued without intermission from the rising to the setting sun. The event was for a long time doubtful, and seemed to be turning in favour of Frederic; nor could the judicious manœuvres of Schwepperman, the cool intrepidity of Louis, and the rapid assaults of the king of Bohemia, have decided the fate of the day, had not the burgrave of Nuremberg secured the victory by a stratagem. He galloped at the head of 400 horse from the rear of the Bavarian army, ascended an eminence towards the flank of the enemy, and advanced with Austrian colours, and trumpets sounding, as a reinforcement to the assistance of Frederic. On the sight of the colours, Frederic mistook them for those of Leopold, and his troops broke out into transports of exultation; but their joy was soon converted into despair, when the expected succours burst upon their exhausted ranks. The Austrians were thrown into confusion and dispersed, and prince Henry was taken prisoner; Frederic, almost alone, preserved his intrepidity, and sustained the shock till his horse was killed under him, and he himself thrown to the ground, and overpowered by numbers, when he yielded his sword to the burgrave of Nuremberg. Being presented to the emperor, Louis received him with unaffected cordiality, and when Frederic appeared dejected at his defeat, soothed his despondency with the most gracious expressions: "The battle," he said, "is not lost by your fault; the Bavarians have experienced, to their cost, that you are a most valiant prince, and you ought to reflect that victory is in the disposal of Providence. Although I feel," he added, "the greatest pleasure in seeing you my guest, yet I shall always be sensible of your misfortune, and shall endeavour to lessen it." Louis delivered prince Henry to the care of the king of Bohemia, and confined Frederic in the strong fortress of Trausnitz, in the Upper Palatinate.

But notwithstanding this great advantage, and the capture of his rival, Louis was unable to pursue his success,

as his allies, according to the custom of the feudal times, withdrew their troops, and Leopold, his active and enterprising rival, was still at the head of a considerable force. He had already penetrated into Bavaria; but hearing of the defeat and capture of his brother, retreated towards the frontiers of his Alsatian dominions. He first endeavoured to obtain the release of his brother by negotiation, and even surrendered the imperial regalia; but on the refusal of Louis to comply with his request, until the Austrian troops should evacuate all the imperial towns of which they held possession, exerted all his efforts to retrieve the disgrace of his family. He first gained John king of Bohemia, whom Louis had alienated by conferring the margraviate of Brandenburgh on his own son John, and who was jealous of the increasing power and splendid alliances of the emperor. He obtained the release of his brother Henry, whom the king of Bohemia had treated with ungenerous severity, by agreeing to pay a ransom of 9000 marks of silver, and by renouncing the pretensions of his family to the crown of Bohemia. But he placed his firmest reliance on the influence of the pope, whom the recent events in Italy had rendered the bitter enemy of the emperor.

After a vacancy of two years, James d'Eux, a native of Cahors in Guienne, was in 1316 chosen pope, and assumed the name of John XXII. He was a person of low extraction, but of great talents, considerable learning, and of an aspiring mind. He continued the see at Avignon, and was more devoted to the House of Anjou than even his predecessor Clement V. His great aim was directed to raise Charles IV. of France to the imperial crown, and to secure the chief authority in Italy to Robert, king of Naples, in whose court he had filled the office of chancellor, and to whom he was indebted for his elevation. With this view he refused to acknowledge either Louis or Frederic as king of the Romans, declared the empire vacant, appointed Robert, senator of Rome, general of the papal troops, and vicar of the empire in Italy, and forbade the assumption of any imperial charge or office under the pain of excommunication and interdict.

His designs were opposed by the Ghibelins, particularly

by Cane della Scana, lord of Verona, by Castruccio of Lucca, and above all by Matthew Visconti, who had assumed the sovereignty of Milan, and extended his authority over great part of Lombardy. With a view to increase his party, he laid siege to Genoa, which, like the other towns of Italy, was divided between the two predominant factions. The Guelfs having expelled the Ghibelins, called in the assistance of Robert, king of Naples, and yielded to him the sovereignty of their city for ten years; while the Ghibelins sought the protection of Matthew Visconti, who formed an alliance with the marquis of Montserrat, an experienced warrior, and with Frederic*, king of Sicily, an inveterate enemy of the king of Naples.

The two monarchs supported their respective adherents by sea and land, and the siege was continued or relaxed with various success for the space of five years. But though the Ghibelins were prevented from capturing so important a post, they were more fortunate in other parts of Italy, and they continued to maintain the ascendency.

After ineffectual endeavours to repress the Ghibelins by the assistance of the king of France, the pope courted the Austrian princes, and prevailed on Frederic, by the hopes of confirming his election, to send a body of 2000 men into Italy under the command of his brother Henry. The Austrian prince advanced into Lombardy; but either gained by the intrigues and bribes of the Visconti, or convinced by their arguments that his efforts would only contribute to deliver Italy into the power of the king of Naples, he obtained his recall, and joined his brother a short time before the unfortunate battle of Muhldorf. Soon after his departure Matthew Visconti died, and was succeeded in his power and influence by his son Galeas. But either from the loss of so able a chieftain, or from divisions in the city of Milan, the Guelfs gained the ascendency, and under the

* On the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), which in one day wrested Sicily from the House of Anjou, Peter III., king of Arragon, and husband of Constantia, daughter of King Manfred, had obtained the crown. Dying in 1285, he was succeeded in Arragon by his eldest son Alphonso, and in Sicily by his second son James; Alphonso dying in 1291, James became king of Arragon; and the third son Frederic, in 1296, king of Sicily. — Giannone.

conduct of cardinal Poggetto, nephew of the pope, took Parma, Piacenza, and other important places, and, in July, 1323, even laid siege to Milan.

In this extremity the Ghibelins applied to Louis, who having established his authority by the victory of Muhldorf, was enabled to send a body of 800 horse into Italy. By this seasonable assistance, and by a subsequent reinforcement, the city of Milan was relieved, and the spirit and influence of the Ghibelins revived. The enraged pontiff, thus disappointed in his sanguine hopes, published a monitory against Louis, commanding him to depose the imperial crown within three months, and to rescind all his acts, and forbidding all persons, both secular and temporal, to obey him as sovereign of the empire. Louis sent ambassadors to Avignon to request a delay, and at the same time protested against the papal monitory, as infringing on the rights of the German electors; recriminated on the conduct of the pope, and proposed the convocation of a general council. His ambassadors were haughtily received at Avignon; but he was allowed a delay of two months; and persisting in his refusal to obey the papal mandate, a formal sentence of excommunication and deposition was pronounced against him.* This interdict spread alarm through Germany, and Louis was deserted by many of his adherents. He however found means to obtain succours from the king of Bohemia, whom he again conciliated by investing him with the province of Lusatia, from the elector of Treves, and from a few other princes and states of the empire, and with these forces he besieged and captured Metz.

But all his efforts were too weak to resist the growing combination which was forming against him. Leopold had closely united himself with the pope, and by his persuasion had agreed to procure the resignation of his brother, and to assist in promoting the election of the king of France. In return, John granted him the tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues in the Austrian dominions, and Leopold, collecting a considerable force, ravaged Bavaria, and insulted the imperial cities of Suabia. To check these incursions, Louis advanced in the depth of winter, and laid siege to Burgau,

* Villani — Giannone — Muratori — Corio Storia di Milano.

but was attacked by Leopold, and totally defeated, with the loss of his camp and baggage, and escaped himself with extreme difficulty. This victory contributed to increase the Austrian influence and party; Leopold had an interview with the king of France, at Bar sur Aube, and afterwards met the electors of Mentz and Cologne, the French ambassadors, and the papal legate of Rensé, to arrange a plan for the formal deposition of Louis, and the election of Charles.

Although this project was opposed by the majority of the German princes, Louis was too sensible of the wavering inclinations of his party, and the strength of his adversaries, to risk the loss of his crown. He saw no other alternative than a reconciliation with the Austrian princes, and repairing to Trausnitz, proposed, in a personal interview, an accommodation with his prisoner. Frederic, wearied with a close confinement of nearly three years, and sinking under a dejection of spirits, readily received his overtures; he agreed, on the 13th of March, 1325, to renounce his claims to the imperial throne; to restore the districts and castles wrested from the empire, to yield all the documents relative to his election, to join his brother in support of Louis against all adversaries, even against the pope, to give his daughter in marriage to Stephen, son of Louis, and to return to his captivity, if he failed in obtaining the fulfilment of these conditions.*

Having taken an oath for the execution of this treaty, Frederic was liberated, and endeavoured to fulfil his engagement. He published his renunciation of the crown, exhorted his brothers and allies to pay allegiance to Louis, as chief of the empire, and even endeavoured to obtain the approbation of the pope. But his brothers, particularly the fiery Leopold, rejected the articles which related to them, and made vigorous preparations for the prosecution of the war. The pope dissolved the treaty of Trausnitz, as extorted by force, and exhorted Frederic to re-assert his

* A singular discordance has arisen between the Austrian and Bavarian historians, in regard to the authenticity of these two treaties. The existence of the first is denied by many of the Austrians, and that of the second by several of the Bavarians; yet both are probably authentic, as they are both alluded to by contemporary writers, and both may be proved from the series of historical events.

claims to the imperial crown. But if the memorable saying of John, king of France, that "although good faith was banished from the rest of the earth, it ought still to inhabit the breasts of princes," were ever verified, it was verified in Frederic. He observed a fidelity almost unparalleled in the records of history, and being unable to fulfil the articles of the treaty, again surrendered himself a prisoner. Louis, affected by this rare instance of probity, treated his captive with equal generosity and affection. To use the words of a contemporary chronicle, they eat at the same table, slept in the same bed, and when Louis was called into Brandenburgh to quell an insurrection against his son, the new elector, he intrusted the government of Bavaria to Frederic. Influenced also by the same sentiments, embarrassed by the furious attacks of Leopold, and dreading the implacable enmity of the pope, he at length offered less burdensome and more honourable terms of accommodation, and a treaty was concluded at Munich, by which it was agreed that Louis and Frederic should reign conjointly, with perfect equality of rights, should use a common seal, join in conferring the fiefs of the empire, and alternately take precedence.

As the high-minded Leopold was satisfied with this agreement, Frederic hoped to recover his liberty without sacrificing the honour of his family, or forfeiting the regal title and power. But the treaty was no sooner divulged, than it was opposed by the electors and princes of the empire, as a contravention of their privileges, and censured by the pope, as an infringing the rights of the Church. After some discussion the two sovereigns agreed that Louis should repair to Italy, accompanied by Leopold, as his vicar-general; and Frederic should hold the reins of government in Germany; and this arrangement was to take effect, even without the consent of the pope or of the electors. In virtue of this compact, Frederic seems to have retained the title of king of the Romans, exercised that authority by issuing several decrees, and granting various privileges, and among others by investing his family with the confiscated lands of Eberhard, count of Lauffenburg Kyburgh, who had assassinated his brother.* Notwith-

* He murdered his brother Hartman or Herman, in 1322.

standing the attempts of the pope to excite the electors and the king of France against this agreement, the two sovereigns mutually supported their respective pretensions, and Leopold, with his usual activity, was collecting an army on the Rhine, to extort the consent of the electors, when his death again frustrated the hopes of his family.

Leopold fell a sacrifice to bodily exertions and agitation of mind. When he first heard of the fatal defeat of Muhldorf, he gave way to a paroxysm of rage and despair; accused himself as the cause of his brother's disgrace, and was with difficulty prevented by his attendants from putting an end to his existence. From that moment he was never seen to smile; he continually brooded over the humiliation of his family, and the emotions of his ardent and ungovernable temper, joined with his bodily exertions, during the contest with Louis, brought on a fever which speedily hurried him to the grave. He died at Strasburgh, on the 28th of February, 1326, in a fit of frenzy, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

Frederic, already a prey to languor and dejection, was still more depressed by this fatal blow; and Louis, delivered from his apprehensions of the great supporter of the House of Austria, neglected to fulfil his engagements, and resumed the authority which he had agreed to divide. Frederic, rapidly declining in health and spirits, made a feeble attempt to obtain the confirmation of his election from the pope; but failing of success, and being involved in a contest with his brother Otho, he was either unable or unwilling to engage again in hostilities for the recovery of a dignity which had brought with it nothing but chagrin and disgrace.

Tranquillity being restored in Germany, Louis, at the invitation of the Ghibelin party, prepared to reduce the Guelfs in Italy, and to avenge himself of the pope. In the commencement of 1327 he departed without the consent of the electors, accompanied by an inconsiderable suite, took the route of Inspruck and Trent, and passed on to Milan. He was triumphantly received by the Ghibelins, supplied with men and money, and crowned king of Lombardy. He continued his progress through Tuscany, and reduced Pisa; here he revived the imperial ban issued by

Henry VII. against Robert, king of Naples, and concluded an alliance with Frederic, king of Sicily, the object of which was the invasion of Naples. In December he marched at the head of a considerable army to Rome, was joyfully received by the people, who were disgusted by the removal of the see, and, as no cardinals were present, was, on the 17th of January 1328, crowned in the church of St. Peter, by Sciarra Colonna, chief of the anti-papal party. He availed himself of the unpopularity of the pope, procured his deposition, in an assembly of the people, and, in May following, obtained the election of an anti-pope, in the person of Peter Rainuccio, a Neapolitan Cordelier, who assumed the name of Nicholas V.

After a residence of eight months at Rome, the emperor experienced the reverse naturally attendant on the support of a violent and interested party, and the clamours of a licentious populace. Having disgusted the Ghibelin leaders by many capricious and arbitrary acts, particularly by the arrest of Galeas Visconti, he was compelled for his support to demand heavy contributions from the city of Rome. The tide of popularity soon turned against him, and the king of Naples, by occupying Ostia and Anagni, cut off the regular supplies of provisions, and increased the disaffection of the people. Alarmed for his personal safety, Louis, on the 4th of August, 1328, disgracefully quitted the city, amidst the execrations of that populace which had received him with enthusiastic applause. He with difficulty and danger continued his journey through Tuscany, and passed the whole summer of 1329 at Pavia, waiting in vain for a reinforcement of troops which he expected from the king of Bohemia. At the close of the year he relinquished his ill-fated expedition, and repaired to Trent, again expecting succours, when he received the news of the death of Frederic, and hastened to Germany, lest the intrigues of the pope should raise another rival for the crown of the empire. His departure from Italy was followed by the total subversion of his authority; the imperial vicars were expelled, and the anti-pope, after wandering about among the Apennines, was seized, conveyed like a malefactor to Avignon, implored forgiveness at the feet of the sovereign pontiff, and ended his days in a prison.

Had Frederic been inclined, he was unable to avail himself of the absence of Louis in Italy. His brother Henry had displayed, in his youth and early manhood, proofs of military skill, joined with an active and enterprising spirit; but the battle of Muhldorf was no less fatal to him than to Leopold. The rigorous and humiliating treatment he experienced from the king of Bohemia during his confinement, affected his spirits; and although he was released at the expiration of only six months, the chagrin and melancholy which he had contracted in prison, continued after his liberation, and reduced him to such a state of debility that he pined away and died, on the 3d of February, 1327.

On the death of Leopold, Albert, the next surviving brother, was associated with Frederic in the administration of affairs; and on the decease of Henry, Otho, the youngest, claimed also part of the patrimonial inheritance. His brothers rejected his demand, Otho, who possessed the ardent and warlike character of Leopold, was highly exasperated, and impatiently appealed to the sword. He obtained succours from Carobert, king of Hungary, and from John, king of Bohemia, who disputed the succession to Carinthia, claimed by Frederic; and the Bohemians and Hungarians, bursting into Austria, reduced many important fortresses, and devastated the country as far as the Danube. Frederic, unable to resist these joint attacks, accepted overtures of accommodation, and yielded to Otho, as his portion of the inheritance, the Suabian possessions of Leopold. From this period Frederic remained in a state of languor and inactivity, till he fell a victim to his sensibility, and died at the castle of Gullenstein, on the 13th of January, 1330.

Frederic espoused Isabella, daughter of James, king of Arragon, who became blind from grief for his captivity, and died soon after her husband. She bore him a son, Frederic, who died in his sixth year; and two daughters; Anne, who married John Henry, count of Goritz, and Elizabeth, who, after being betrothed to John, king of Bohemia, and to a king of Servia, died unmarried of the plague.

Leopold, by his wife Catherine, princess of Savoy, had

two daughters, Catherine and Agnes. Catherine married first, Enguerrand or Ingleram VI., of the race of Coucy Guignes, who derived their title from the castle of Coucy, in Picardy. He was lord of extensive possessions in France, and distinguished as a warrior of great celebrity.* By him she bore the celebrated Enguerrand de Coucy, count of Soissons and Marle, governor of Picardy, and grand butler of France, who distinguished himself in arms more than all his warlike race. She married afterwards Conrad, count of Hardeck. Agnes espoused Boleslaus, duke of Schweidnitz and Gawer.

Henry married Elizabeth, daughter of Rupert, count of Virnburgh, but left no issue.

CHAP. VIII. —ALBERT AND OTHO. — 1330–1358.

THE deaths of Frederic and Leopold were ultimately of advantage to the House of Austria. By the decease of Frederic a principal motive of contention with the head of the empire was removed, as the succeeding brothers brought forward no pretensions to the imperial crown; and in Leopold the family lost an unquiet and turbulent spirit, who was continually seeking new contests to signalise his eminent talents for war. By the deaths of these two princes, and of Henry, without issue male, the Austrian dominions fell to the two remaining brothers Albert and Otho, who acted together with such vigour and concert, that there appears no proof of a separate administration of affairs.

Albert, the second of that name, seems to have been destined to the service of the church, and is said to have been appointed canon of Passau; but, if this supposition

* He requested the king of France to raise him to the rank of a duke; but the monarch refusing, and offering to create him a count, he replied, "Duc je ne peux; Comte je ne veux; je demeurerai Seigneur de Coucy." This reply is still a current proverb in France.—Anselme Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France, tom. viii. p. 545.

be true, he renounced, at an early period, the ecclesiastical profession, and espoused, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, Joanna, eldest daughter and heiress of Ulric, count of Ferret, in Alsace, in virtue of which, and of the payment of 8,000 marks of silver, as a portion to her younger sister, he annexed that valuable territory to the other dominions of the House of Austria. In his youth and early manhood he was tall in stature, of a commanding aspect and pleasing physiognomy, and active in all bodily exercises; but in the thirty-second year of his age, he was attacked with a paralytic disorder, which deprived him of the use of the lower extremities, and rendered him incapable of motion, except on horseback, or in a litter, without impairing the vigour or repressing the activity of his mind.

Otho was distinguished for his spirit and vivacity, and obtained the surname of the Jovial, from the hilarity of his temper. Under the standard of his brother Leopold, he had acquired military skill and an enthusiasm for arms, and had already led an army, at the instigation of the pope, against the adherents of Louis in the empire, and laid siege to Colmar. On the decease of his brother he was urged by the pope to become a candidate for the imperial throne, and promised large subsidies, and the assistance of the bishops of Strasburgh, Constance, and Augsburgh. But he and Albert were too wise to continue the schism of the empire, and become mere engines of papal intrigue; they therefore listened to the overtures of Louis, and, by the mediation of the king of Bohemia, concluded in August, 1330, a treaty of peace at Hagenau. Both parties revoked their former hostile acts: the dukes of Austria acknowledged Louis as legitimate emperor; and Louis confirmed them in all their rights and possessions, granted them, as a mortgage for the expenses of the war, the imperial cities of Brisach, Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, and Neuburgh, and promised to nominate Otho his vicar in Germany, whenever he went into Italy, or passed beyond the forest of Thuringia.

This peace was a fortunate event for the dukes of Austria, as it secured the undisturbed possessions of their patrimonial dominions, with those which they had acquired

either by conquest, marriage, or purchase, and ultimately produced a more intimate connection with the head of the empire.

At this period the three great families of Bavaria, Austria, and Luxemburgh predominated in Germany. John, king of Bohemia, the head of the House of Luxemburgh, had hitherto supported the interests of Louis of Bavaria, and principally contributed to raise him to the imperial throne. Their alliance continued unbroken as long as the emperor was threatened with the whole force of the house of Austria; but he had no sooner effected a reconciliation with Otho and Albert, than he gave way to the jealousy with which he was inspired by the conduct and character of the king of Bohemia.

John was a prince of an overbearing and capricious temper, of an active and enterprising spirit, fond of war, and full of ambitious and chimerical projects. He had hitherto treated the emperor rather as a dependant than as a sovereign, and arrogated to himself the principal share of the imperial power. Being appointed by Louis imperial vicar of Italy, he marched into Lombardy at the head of a considerable force, under the pretence of relieving the town of Brescia, which was besieged by the troops of Milan and Verona. Deceiving both the Guelfs and Ghibelins, by affecting to one party to act with the authority of the pope, and to the other with the approbation of the emperor, he acquired, with little opposition, a considerable part of Lombardy; he made himself master of Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, and Milan; while Reggio and Mantua voluntarily submitted to his dominion. Encouraged by this success, John intrigued with the papal legate, and by his conduct excited well-grounded suspicions that he aspired to the dominion of Lombardy as well as to the imperial crown.

Louis accordingly proposed to form a more intimate connection with the dukes of Austria, who were no less jealous of the ambition of the king of Bohemia, and were irritated by his refusal to restore the towns of Laa and Weytra, which he had received as a pledge for the ransom of their brother Henry. An alliance was therefore soon effected for their mutual security. Otho was appointed

vicar of Germany in the absence of the emperor, and the dukes of Austria engaged to assist Louis in any war which related to himself or the empire; and this league was strengthened by the accession of the kings of Poland and Hungary. Alarmed by this confederacy, and opposed by the united efforts of the Guelfs and Ghibelins, who penetrated his ambitious designs, John left his son Charles to support his party in Italy, and returned into Germany; but, having recruited his forces, he resumed his projects in Italy, and even threatened to extort the abdication of the emperor.

Louis now saw that the preservation of his dignity depended on the assistance of the dukes of Austria; and the death of Henry of Carinthia, in 1335, without issue male, enabled him to cement his union with that powerful family.*

Henry, who was the son and successor of Meinhard, left an only daughter, Margaret, surnamed Maultasch, or the great mouth, in whose favour he had procured from Louis, during the contests with the house of Austria, a decree declaring Carinthia and Tyrol feminine fiefs. The king of Bohemia, eager to acquire these important territories, which secured a passage into Italy, obtained the hand of Margaret for his son John, then only eight years of age,

* Meinhard, third count of Goritz, left two sons, Meinhard and Albert, who founded the two lines of Tyrol and Goritz. Meinhard, in right of his mother Adelaide, inherited the Tyrol and obtained the investiture of Carinthia from the emperor Rhodolph. Dying in 1295, he left two sons and a daughter. The daughter, Elizabeth, espoused the emperor Albert; and Otho, the eldest son, dying in 1310, the inheritance fell to Henry II., who was expelled from Bohemia by John of Luxemburgh. Henry had only two daughters, Margaret, surnamed Maultasch, from the largeness of her mouth, and Adelaide, who was disqualified for marriage by the weakness of her constitution.

Some authors have erroneously supposed that the Austrian princes claimed Carinthia in virtue of a clause in the investiture granted to Meinhard by the emperor Rhodolph, stipulating that in failure of male issue, Carinthia should revert to the Austrian family; and others conjecture that they founded their pretensions on the right of their mother Elizabeth, the sister of Henry. But in fact the investiture was granted to Meinhard, without reserve, and the right of Elizabeth was inferior to that of the daughter of the last reigning duke. Carinthia was considered by Louis and the Austrian princes as a male fief reverted to the empire; and under that title the investiture was granted.

by the payment of 40,000 marks of silver, under the pretence of a compensation for the claims of Henry on the crown of Bohemia. He procured the consent of Louis to this arrangement, and, on the death of Henry, prepared to take possession of Carinthia and Tyrol for his son. But Louis, in consequence of his recent alliance with the house of Austria, revoked the decree, invested the dukes of Austria with Carinthia and the Tyrol, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance to secure the succession of those countries against the pretensions of the king of Bohemia and his heirs. The Austrian princes accordingly took possession of Carinthia; but were prevented from occupying the Tyrol by the opposition of the nobles and magistrates.

The king of Bohemia, inflamed with his disappointment, consolidated a powerful confederacy against the emperor and the house of Austria, and contrived to regain the friendship of the kings of Hungary and Poland; he was also assisted by the elector of Saxony, and by his son-in-law Henry, duke of Lower Bavaria. He occupied the Tyrol, and the forces of the confederacy bursting from Hungary, Bohemia, and the Tyrol, as well as from Lower Bavaria, ravaged Austria on every side. But the imperial and Austrian troops, having effected a junction, arrested their progress at Landau. While the two hostile armies were separated only by a rivulet, and the Austrians were preparing to make a diversion on the side of Bohemia, a misintelligence arose between them, and the emperor withdrew with his army into Bavaria. The Austrian princes, thus left alone, obtained terms of peace, which, in their situation and circumstances, were not dishonourable. They agreed to reimburse the expenses of the war, ceded Znaym, in Moravia, which Otho had received as a dower with his second wife, Anne, daughter of the king of Bohemia, and renounced their pretensions to the Tyrol, which was assigned to Margaret. In return they obtained Carinthia, which, from that period, continued in the possession of the house of Austria.

Soon after this agreement Otho died (Feb. 17. 1389), leaving by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen, duke of Bavaria, two sons, Leopold and Frederic; and the guardianship of the young princes, with the sole adminis-

tration of affairs, was vested in Albert. Eager to avail himself of every opportunity for the aggrandisement of his family, he demanded for his wards the succession to Lower Bavaria, vacant by the death of Henry, their uncle, without male issue, and prepared to assert their claims by arms. But he was anticipated by the vigilance and activity of the emperor, who conciliated the states, and occupied the country, to the exclusion both of the Austrian princes, and of his own nephews, Adolphus and Rhodolph.* But the enmity which the former disagreement and this contest occasioned between the Austrian and Bavarian houses, was again appeased by a coalition of interests, and by the disputes which arose for the possession of the Tyrol between the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburgh.

A marriage had been solemnised, in 1338, between Margaret Maultasch, in the twenty-second year of her age, and John, prince of Bohemia, who had scarcely reached his seventeenth year. But this ill-sorted match, between two persons differing in character and manners, being followed by mutual disgust, John confined his wife in prison, from whence escaping, she threw herself under the protection of the emperor. Louis, eager to acquire possession of the Tyrol, kindly received the fugitive princess, and on her promise to espouse his son Louis, dissolved, by his imperial authority, her marriage with the prince of Bohemia, under the pretence of impotence. Notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, this singular marriage took place at Inspruck, and the new bridegroom received the investiture of the Tyrol in February, 1342.

The king of Bohemia was highly irritated by the loss of that valuable province, and by the disgraceful treatment of his son. Neither age, nor the blindness with which he had been recently afflicted, could repress his ardour; he travelled through France and the empire, appealing to the feelings and interests of the different princes, organised a powerful confederacy, and by his exhortations induced

* Rhodolph, count palatine of the Rhine, and brother of the emperor, driven from Bavaria for his attachment to the House of Austria, died an exile in 1319. His widow and sons obtained the protection of the emperor, who, by the treaty of Pavia, in 1329, confirmed them in all the rights and possessions of their father.

Clement VI. to issue a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Louis, and order the electors to nominate a new chief. The exhortations of the pope, and the intrigues of the king of Bohemia, produced this effect. The pope having deposed Henry, elector of Mentz, who thwarted his designs, a meeting was held at Rense in 1346, under the auspices of the new elector, Gerlec of Nassau, where Mentz, Cologne, Treves, Saxony, and Bohemia declared the throne vacant, and choose Charles, eldest son of the king of Bohemia.

Louis defended his crown with undaunted spirit ; and being strenuously supported by Albert, and a powerful party in Germany, who were indignant at the arbitrary conduct of the pope, he defeated his competitor in various conflicts, drove him into Bohemia, and prepared to penetrate into the centre of that kingdom, to which Charles had recently succeeded by the death of his father at the battle of Cressy.* But, in the midst of this success, Louis was suddenly cut off by an apoplexy, and died in October, 1447.

His death insured to Charles the possession of the imperial crown, after a short opposition from the party of the electors, who endeavoured to raise Guntram of Schwarzenburg to the vacant dignity ; but that phantom of sovereignty dying the same year, Charles was duly chosen by the unanimous suffrages of the whole electoral college.

During these transactions, Albert had warmly supported the rights of Louis ; but, on his death, he adopted the party of the new emperor, and even effected a reconciliation between the Houses of Bavaria and Luxemburgh. He also prevailed on Charles to confirm the divorce of Margaret from his brother, to use his endeavours for obtaining the consent of the pope to her second marriage†, and to confer on Louis of Brandenburgh the investiture of Tyrol in return for the vote of Brandenburgh, at the election for the imperial crown.

* Froissart gives a singular account of his chivalrous spirit and death. — See chap. 130.

† It is singular that Charles not only acquiesced in the divorce of his brother, but even allowed the charge of impotency, assigned by Margaret, alleging that it was quoad hanc, and occasioned by witchcraft.

While Albert was thus successfully extending his possessions, and consolidating his power on the side of Austria, his paternal domains and influence in Switzerland were curtailed by the three petty republics of the Alps, who had already resisted the efforts, and humbled the pride of his house.

At the commencement of their administration, Albert, in conjunction with his brother Otho, had made considerable acquisitions in the neighbourhood of the Rhine ; they had obtained possession of Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, and Brisach ; and had purchased from the House of Lauffenburgh the feudal rights over the town and country of Rapperschwyl.* By these acquisitions, and by the extent of their paternal inheritance, the Austrian princes almost surrounded and isolated the three republics : they possessed nearly the whole of that part of the canton of Bern which is now called the Argau ; they were masters of the Thurgau ; they held the sovereignty of Zug and Lucern, including the Entlibuch, and the towns of Sempach and Reichensee ; and, as advocates of the abbeys of Einsidlin and Seckingen, their authority was paramount in the district to the south of the lake of Zurich, and over the town and canton of Glarus.

By the death of Otho, and of his two sons, who deceased in 1344, the whole possessions and power of the House of Austria devolved on Albert. But he was at first too much embarrassed in contests on the side of Austria and the empire to give the necessary attention to the affairs of Helvetia, where a concurrence of events had begun to diminish the authority of his family.

Since the battle of Morgarten, the power and influence of the Swiss had increased with their success ; and the spirit of that liberty which they had so courageously defended was diffused over the neighbouring Alps, and among the towns and districts on the borders of Germany. The surrounding people were eager to obtain an exemption from feudal despotism ; and panted for an equal participa-

* John, fourth in descent from Rhodolph, first count of Laufenburgh, acquired the town and county of Rapperschwyl, and the marches of Schweitz, in right of his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Rhodolph, the last count of Rappershwyl.

tion of those rights which had raised the three democratic cantons to such reputation and prosperity. Lucern set the first example. In consequence of the unceasing disputes and contests between the Austrian feudatories and the confederated republics, Lucern was exposed to perpetual inroads; her commerce to Italy was interrupted, her fairs deserted, and her citizens, continually under arms, were unable to protect their territories from depredations, or their walls from insult. In these depressing circumstances the flower of her youth was summoned to the field under the Austrian standard, her citizens loaded with excessive contributions, and, the authority of the Austrian princes being supported by the nobles, the town was agitated with discordant factions. At length the majority of the burghers obtained from the emperor Louis the protection of the empire, and with his approbation concluded an armistice of twenty years with the Swiss cantons. The nobles applied to the baron of Ramschlag, the Austrian castellan of Rotenburgh, who advanced with a body of 300 horse to surprise the town; but this project being defeated by the vigilance and firmness of the burghers, many of the Austrian partisans retired, and the remaining inhabitants entered into an alliance with the Swiss cantons. In forming this alliance, however, both parties observed the most rigid dictates of justice, and confirmed all the rights and prerogatives of the House of Austria. Albert and Otho, failing in their attempts to recover Lucern by intrigue or arms, took advantage of their reconciliation with Louis, and solicited him to dissolve the alliance of Lucern with the Swiss cantons. The cause was accordingly submitted to arbitrators, selected from Zurich, Bern, and Basle: but the confederacy was confirmed, and a truce for thirty months concluded between the dukes of Austria and Lucern, which was renewed at different intervals.

The four cantons, which, from this period, are called the four Forest Cantons, took an active share in the subsequent transactions, and, after vindicating their own independence, assisted in extending and maintaining the liberty of the neighbouring towns and districts, who sought their alliance and protection.

Zurich next became a member of the Helvetic con-

federacy. The House of Austria had more than once endeavoured in vain to annex Zurich to their other territories; and in the peace of Hagenau, it was one of the four imperial towns mortgaged by the emperor to Albert and Otho. But the inhabitants claiming the privilege granted to them by Adolphus, of never being separated from the empire, Louis yielded to their remonstrances, and instead of Zurich ceded Brisach, a town of the Brisgau. The Austrian princes, however, did not relinquish their purpose, and gained a considerable party of the nobles, who had gradually acquired the principal share in the administration of affairs. But their views were thwarted by a revolution which annihilated the influence of the nobles, and established a popular form of government; and Rhodolph Brun, by whose influence and intrigues this revolution was effected, under the title of perpetual burgomaster, secured the chief authority. The nobles who opposed the change were driven into exile, their estates confiscated, and the severest measures were adopted to prevent the restoration of the ancient government. The tyrannical proceedings of Brun having excited great discontents, the exiles united with John of Hapsburgh, lord of Rapperschwyl, who had afforded them an asylum, to recover their lost ascendancy. In 1351 they succeeded in introducing a considerable body of men into the town; but at midnight, when the explosion was about to take place, the plot was accidentally discovered. The conspirators were put to death, or dispersed; and John of Hapsburgh, with Ulrich of Bonstetten, the two leaders, made prisoners. Many of their adherents among the burghers were afterwards executed; and the authority of Brun was more firmly established than ever. He led a party against Rapperschwyl, made himself master of the town, expelled the inhabitants, levelled every house to the ground, and demolished the walls of the castle; but, aware that these proceedings would expose him to the vengeance of Albert, he saw no other resource than the protection of the Swiss cantons, and succeeded in procuring the admission of Zurich into the Helvetic confederacy, which took place on the 7th of May, 1351.

Albert, at length relieved from his embarrassments in Germany, hastened to recover his declining authority. He

assembled at Bruck all his governors, barons, and magistrates, from the Thurgau, Argau, Alsace, the Black Forest, and Suabia, and roused their indignation by expatiating on the flagitious conduct of Zurich. He then summoned the deputies of Zurich, who came to congratulate him on his arrival, into his presence, and, after rebuking them with severity, dismissed them with an order that the towns of old and new Rapperschwyl should be rebuilt, the marshes restored, and his people indemnified for their losses. On the refusal of the burghers to comply with these conditions, he invested the town with 16,000 men.

On the first appearance of danger, the people of Zurich applied to the Forest Cantons, and a body of Swiss prepared to march, without delay, to the assistance of their new ally. The burghers, however, panic-struck with the force and menaces of the Austrians, requested an arbitration to arrange the dispute, and yielded sixteen hostages as pledges for the fulfilment of the award. The arbitrators chose Agnes, queen of Bohemia, the sister of Albert, as final umpire, who decided in favour of her brother. A treaty was accordingly concluded ; but a dispute arising in regard to the release of John of Hapsburgh, and the Swiss disapproving the conditions, both parties had again recourse to arms.

Among his allies, Albert summoned the people of Glarus to his standard ; but these husbandmen, who were animated with the same spirit as their Alpine neighbours, refused to obey the summons ; and when he despatched a body of troops, as well to awe them into compliance, as to annoy the Forest Cantons, the Swiss, bursting in the depth of winter into the valley, were joyfully received by the inhabitants, and expelled the governor. The people, grateful for this deliverance, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Forest Cantons ; and 200 of their bravest youth marched to the defence of Zurich. At the commencement of the ensuing year they repulsed and defeated with great slaughter an Austrian force in the field of Rutli, and soon after this event Glarus was formally admitted into the Helvetic confederacy. In a similar manner the Swiss expelled the Austrians from Zug, and the natives of that town and district were received into the confederacy ; the two cantons

however did not yet throw off their feudal subjection to the house of Austria, but reserved, in their full latitude, all the rights and revenues of the duke.

During these transactions, four thousand Austrian troops had been defeated by fifteen hundred burghers of Zurich, at Tatwyl, and a corps of a thousand by forty-two Swiss at Kussnacht. Albert, unwilling to continue this predatory warfare, in which all the advantage lay on the side of the active and light-armed peasants of the Alps, and which dispirited his own troops while it increased the courage and skill of the enemy, collected from all quarters an army sufficient, as he imagined, to humble the confederates by a single effort. He drew out the whole force of his own hereditary dominions, and persuaded the nobles of Burgundy, Suabia, and Helvetia, that their interests were equally concerned in punishing refractory subjects, and checking the progress of the Helvetic union; he likewise succeeded in obtaining the support of the elector of Brandenburgh, and many other princes of the empire; and was assisted even by the republic of Bern, and its allies of Oberland, Hasli, and the Pays de Vaud. Having in 1352 assembled 30,000 foot, and 4000 horse, he intrusted the command to an experienced warrior, Everhard count of Wirtemberg, who laid siege to Zurich. Albert himself was indefatigable in forwarding the siege, and either on a litter, or on horseback, assiduously visited and encouraged the different posts; but the invincible spirit of the burghers, assisted by a corps of the confederates, baffled all his efforts. In consequence of an alarming scarcity of provisions, his auxiliaries successively retired, and Albert at length gladly accepted an accommodation, which was concluded by the intervention of the elector of Brandenburgh, with the plenipotentiaries of the confederates assembled at Lucern. All prisoners, conquests, and hostages were to be restored on both sides; the prerogatives and revenues of the duke in Lucern, Schweitz, and Underwalden were to be preserved; Zug and Glarus agreed to render him due allegiance; and the duke in return promised to be their friend. The confederates were to conclude no alliance with an Austrian town or country; Zurich and Lucern were to admit no Austrian subject into their burghership; John of

Hapsburgh was to be released; and all former alliances, immunities, and established regulations to remain inviolate.

The signal proofs of spirit, valour, and perseverance, displayed by the confederates in this arduous and apparently unequal contest, increased their former reputation; and before the close of 1352, their union was strengthened by the accession of Bern, the most powerful republic in Helvetia, which, by purchase or arms, had enlarged her frontiers, and acquired a considerable domain; but was still more formidable from the military skill and prowess of her warlike citizens.

The treaty which Albert, from his necessities rather than from inclination, had concluded with the confederate cantons, was a suspension of arms instead of a solid peace; for disputes soon arose relative to the interpretation of the articles. Albert insisted that the engagements of Glarus and Zug to pay him due allegiance dissolved their alliance with the Swiss cantons; and the Swiss urged that the article in which the maintenance of all former alliances was stipulated comprehended the Helvetic union. Albert had recourse to the mediation of the emperor, who was anxious to compose the troubles of the empire, that he might receive the crown from the hands of the pope at Rome. Charles repaired to Zurich, and endeavoured to effect an accommodation; but as he displayed an evident partiality in favour of Albert, the Swiss cantons declared their resolution to reject any award before their confederacy was acknowledged; and at the same time they tendered a compensation for the ducal prerogatives, which was to be fixed by the emperor. Charles, irritated by this mark of disrespect, declared the Helvetic union null and void, and all confederacies illegal, which were formed without the consent of the head of the empire.

In consequence of the unshaken resolution displayed by the Swiss, an Austrian force passed the Glatt, and fortified Rapperschwyl, which Albert had purchased from the house of Lauffenburgh; and from that central post annoyed both the Swiss and the town of Zurich. Soon afterwards Charles himself summoned the contingents of the empire, and, accompanied by all his princes, spiritual and temporal, joined the army of Albert, which was encamped before Zurich.

But the hopes of Albert were again frustrated; the garrison, though amounting to only four thousand men, were all animated by the same undaunted spirit; while the heterogeneous and unwieldy mass of the besieging army was agitated with disputes and jealousies. The imperial cities were unwilling to assist in reducing another city of the empire; the princes and states were jealous of the increasing power of Austria, and averse to enforce the maxims promulgated by Charles, that all confederacies were illegal which were concluded without the consent of their chief; Charles himself also was disinclined to support so unpopular a cause, and to waste his time in aggrandising a family, of which he dreaded the ascendency. A frivolous dispute about precedence in the assault afforded a pretext for retiring; the besiegers struck their tents, and withdrew in such haste and disorder that, according to the expressions of an ancient chronicle, none knew who went first, or who last, and Albert was left to prosecute the war with his own forces.

Albert, thus deserted, changed his plan of operations, devastated the country in the neighbourhood of Zurich, and let loose a lawless band of Hungarian auxiliaries, who, like the Croats and Pandours of modern times, committed the most horrible excesses, and spared neither friend nor foe. At length his own subjects, and the neighbouring barons, harassed and exhausted with perpetual depredations, unanimously clamoured for peace, and testified a resolution to terminate hostilities, even without his consent. Albert was reduced to make overtures of accommodation, and admitted, at the diet of Ratisbon, that the reservation of the Swiss league should be a preliminary of the future award, which was left to the decision of the emperor. He endeavoured, however, to gain by artifice what he could not effect by force. At his instigation the emperor drew up articles of accommodation, containing an ambiguous clause, which virtually annulled the alliance, and would have ultimately again subjected Zug and Glarus to the domination of the house of Austria. With this view the Austrian commissaries, instead of presenting the instrument to a general assembly of the confederates, endeavoured to divide them, and to extort their separate concurrence.

Brun, bribed by Albert, exerted his powerful influence; and Zurich, which had been the principal cause of the war, not only ratified the imperial award, but entered into a defensive alliance with Austria, to enforce the execution even against the confederates.

The people of Schweitz, however, refused to ratify the obnoxious clause, and resisted with firmness and indignation the urgent representations of Albert, and the mandates of the emperor. Nor did their firmness forsake them on the arrival of an Austrian commissary to demand the homage of Zug and Glarus, although Zurich remained neuter, and even Lucern, Uri, and Underwalden seemed inclined to shrink from the contest. A body of troops marched from Schweitz under the banner of their forefathers, which had triumphed at Morgarten, entered the two cantons, drove out the Austrian commissary, and renewed the reciprocal engagements of perpetual amity and mutual defence.

At length Albert, worn out with age, afflicted by the increase of his paralytic disorder, which was aggravated by arthritic complaints, and the disappointment of his hopes, returned in disgust to Vienna, where he fell into such a state of despondency, that the very name of a Swiss was never mentioned in his presence. His son Rhodolph, who was intrusted with the administration of the Suabian territories, agreed to an armistice of eleven years, which was mediated by the baron of Thorberg, the Austrian commissary in Helvetia, and thus terminated a ruinous and fruitless contest.

This event was soon followed by the decease of Albert, who died on the 16th of August, 1358, after a reign of twenty-eight years. From the contraction and deformity of his person, he received at his accession the appellation of the Lame; but his bodily defects being compensated by great talents and an elevated mind, he obtained at the close of his reign the epithet of the Wise, which he deserved in every respect, except in his transactions with the Swiss.

Albert was versed in the learning of the times; he was distinguished for his address and policy; and by his strict economy was enabled to augment by purchase the inheritance of his ancestors. Though benignant and com-

passionate, he possessed an unshaken firmness of mind; notwithstanding his bodily afflictions, he maintained, till towards the close of his life, and the unfortunate war in Switzerland, an uninterrupted serenity of temper; and in an age of persecution and bigotry, displayed proofs of toleration and humanity.

An interesting anecdote of his benevolence is recorded by the Swiss historians. Basle being almost overthrown by a tremendous earthquake, succeeded by a conflagration, one of his counsellors urged him to take possession of the town, to which nature had opened him a passage; "God forbid," indignantly exclaimed the duke, "that I should smite those who are visited by the hand of the Almighty!" He even despatched a body of his vassals to clear the ruins, and furnished the unfortunate inhabitants with materials to rebuild the town.

Albert is distinguished in history as being the continuator of his race, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities. In consequence of the successive deaths of all his brothers, and of their male issue, the achievements of Rhodolph, the grasping ambition of Albert I., and the efforts of their descendants, were likely to have been exerted in vain; for the whole hope of succession centered in Albert. His marriage continued unfruitful for the space of nineteen years, and at a time when his increasing disorders seemed to preclude all prospect of issue, the births of four sons, Rhodolph, Frederic, Albert, and Leopold, prevented the extinction of his illustrious line.

Besides these four sons, he left by his wife Joanna, deceased in 1353, two daughters: — Catherine, abbess of the convent of St. Clare, at Vienna, died in 1381. Margaret married Meinhard, last count of Tyrol, son of Margaret Maultasch, and Louis of Bavaria, who dying in 1363, she espoused, in the beginning of the ensuing year, John Henry of Luxemburgh, margrave of Moravia, the same person from whom her mother-in-law had been divorced. She died in 1366, at the age of twenty, without children.

Chap. IX.—RHODOLPH IV.—1359–1394.

Rhodolph was the first among the Austrian princes in virtues and in talents, as he was the first in birth. He was born in 1339, carefully educated under the auspices of his father, and instructed as well in all military exercises as in the learning and sciences of the times. At an early period he was initiated in the art of government, and at the age of sixteen received the homage of the Austrian states, as co-administrator with his father. He espoused, in 1359, Catherine, daughter of the emperor Charles IV., and being appointed imperial commissary in Suabia and Alsace, and intrusted with the government of the Hapsburgh dominions, took up his residence at Diesenhofen, a town in the vicinity of Schaffhausen. Here he displayed, even at this early age, the talents of a skilful ruler, maintained the public peace, repressed the depredations of banditti, protected trade, and, in order to facilitate the communication with the Alpine countries, built over the southern extremity of the lake of Zurich the celebrated bridge of Rapperschwyl, which extended near a mile in length, and though constructed only with wood, was considered as the wonder of the age.*

When his father retired from Switzerland to Vienna, in a state of imbecility and despair, Rhodolph assumed the sole direction of affairs. Appreciating the courage and perseverance of the Swiss, and the advantages which they derived from their local situation, he relinquished a fruitless contest, and concluded a truce, which was afterwards prolonged, and which he maintained with unshaken fidelity till the close of his administration. On the death of his father he removed his residence to Vienna, and maintained a court which vied in splendour and magnificence with those of the greatest sovereigns of the age.

Albert having confirmed the family compact, which secured the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions, and settled the administration on the eldest son, Rhodolph re-

* I examined this bridge during my tour in Switzerland, and it measured nearly 1700 paces.

ceived the investiture in conjunction with his three brothers, but assumed the government in his own person. His administration was short, but memorable in the records of Austria, for the acquisition of the Tyrol, and the assumption of the title of Archduke Palatine.

The marriage of Margaret Maultasch, heiress of the Tyrol, with Louis of Bavaria, having never been confirmed by the pope, her son Meinhard was branded as illegitimate, and her connection with her husband stigmatised as licentious. Rhodolph, however, succeeded in gaining the approbation of the pontiff, obtained the legitimation of Meinhard, and bestowed on him the hand of his sister Margaret. In gratitude for these favours, Margaret Maultasch gave the reversion of the Tyrol to the dukes of Austria, should her husband and son die without issue. Her husband dying in 1361, and her son in 1363, Rhodolph was apprehensive lest the Bavarian princes should obtain possession of the Tyrol, in virtue of the marriage contract of Margaret with Louis, which secured the reversion of that province to the House of Lower Bavaria, in failure of his issue. He therefore crossed the Alps, in the depth of winter, with great difficulty and danger, and prevailed on Margaret to ratify her former grant; but knowing her capricious and unstable temper, he succeeded in obtaining the immediate cession of the Tyrol, and by expatiating on the beauties of his capital, and the splendour of his court, persuaded Margaret to accompany him and his sister, the widow of Meinhard, to Vienna.

His next object was to obtain the approbation of the emperor. This however was no easy task; for notwithstanding the tie of his marriage with the daughter of Charles, the natural jealousies of the houses of Austria and Luxemburgh had occasioned frequent contests, and at this juncture Rhodolph and his three brothers were united in a league with the kings of Hungary and Poland, against the emperor as king of Bohemia. Fortunately Catherine meditated a reconciliation between her husband and father, and in 1364 a meeting took place at Brunn between Charles and the Austrian princes. Charles confirmed the donation of Margaret, invested Rhodolph with the Tyrol, and even entered into a family compact with the Austrian princes,

for the reciprocal reversion of their respective territories, in failure of male issue.

The transfer of the Tyrol was opposed by the house of Lower Bavaria, and hostilities ensued. Stephen, assisted by the burgrave of Nuremberg, and his other German allies, marched towards the Tyrol; and when Rhodolph, unable to resist their united force, obtained succours from the archbishop of Saltzburgh, they burst into the territories of the see, laid siege to Muhldorf, and spread devastation as far as the capital. Rhodolph, on his part, made a diversion into Bavaria, and investing the fortress of Reid, drew Stephen from the siege of Muhldorf, to the defence of his own territories. The two armies were separated only by a rivulet; but a battle was prevented by the mediation of the pope, who was anxious to employ the German forces against the Visconti in Italy, and thus, fortunately for the house of Austria, suspended the contest for the Tyrol.

In the same year Rhodolph and his brothers concluded a compact with Albert IV., count of Goritz, a collateral branch of the House of Tyrol, which afterwards annexed to the family possessions the counties of Goritz and Gradiska.

Rhodolph, a prince of high spirit and aspiring mind, derived a peculiar eccentricity of character from his enthusiastic admiration of heraldry and antiquities. He investigated the musty records of the ancient dukes of Austria, sedulously examined the archives of his family, and formed the project of reviving all the privileges and titles possessed or even claimed by his predecessors. At an early period he used seals with fanciful devices, hieroglyphics, and occult characters*; and adopted titles on titles, and proceeded by degrees to the assumption of the regal state. He called himself margrave of Baden and Drosendorf, vicar of Upper Bavaria, and lord of several Suabian states, which he considered as independent of the

* Among these whimsical devices, was the head of a man with five faces. The mottoes on his seals were occasionally in a mixture of Greek, Runic, Roman, and Arabic characters, of which he had formed an alphabet. He seldom signed his name at the end of his letters, but concluded them with the year of his age and reign, and the expression "Hoc est Verum."—Fugger, p. 345.

empire; he likewise assumed the designation of arch-huntsman of the empire, and held a diet of his vassals at Zoffingen, with regal pomp. His pride being wounded by the article of the golden bull, which gave the electors precedence over all the other princes, he assumed the title of archduke palatine, in virtue of a grant made by the emperor Frederic I. to the dukes of Austria of the Bamberg line. These innovations were at first considered as mere antiquarian trifles; but the ostentation of Rhodolph at length alarmed the emperor and electors; Charles summoned him several times before the diet; and commanded him to lay aside the assumed arms and titles, and to adopt those borne by his father. Rhodolph reluctantly abandoned the public use of his fanciful seals and armorial bearings, and dropped the title of palatine, but he seems never to have totally relinquished that of archduke; and in consequence of its assumption by him, it was afterwards confirmed to the house of Austria by the emperor Frederic III.

Many disputes arose between the dukes of Austria and the patriarch of Aquileia, relative to several fiefs, held by the see in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the boundaries of their respective dominions. Louis, the reigning patriarch, having secretly fomented discontents in Carinthia, which nearly broke out into rebellion; and the citizens of Venzone and Friuli having made incursions into the Austrian dominions, Rhodolph obtained from the emperor an imperial ban against the patriarch, and, marching into his territories, took several fortresses, and invested Butri, his residence. The patriarch at length sued for peace, and obtained a cessation of hostilities, by ceding the conquered fortresses, surrendering the possessions of the see in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and admitting an Austrian judge and garrison into the city of Friuli.

In the midst of his attempts to aggrandise his family, Rhodolph repaired to Italy to assist at the solemnisation of the marriage which he had negotiated for his brother Leopold, with Virida, the daughter of Barnabas Visconti; by which alliance he hoped to extend his influence and power in Italy. But in consequence of the fatigues of his journey, and the heat of the climate, he was seized with an

inflammatory fever, and died on the 27th of July, 1365, aged twenty-six, without issue.

Rhodolph was comely in person, and elegant in manners; he possessed a cultivated mind, and was distinguished for his knowledge and taste in the arts and sciences. In an age of ignorance he was a friend to letters, and endowed an university at Vienna, which was the second establishment for the promotion of literature in Germany, and soon rivalled that of Prague. Like his predecessors he was distinguished for his benefactions to the church, and among various ecclesiastical foundations, built the splendid cathedral of Vienna. But he possessed the firmness and good sense to despise the censures and excommunications of the clergy, and compelled them to bear a part in the burdens of the state. He ridiculed their menaces and complaints; and when they threatened to appeal to the pope, he observed, that in his own dominions he was pope, archbishop, bishop, archdeacon, and priest. From his lofty spirit and love of pomp he obtained the epithet of the Magnanimous, and, from his numerous buildings and institutions, received the honourable appellation of the Founder. Of this prince it was justly observed, that had he enjoyed a longer life, his splendid talents and aspiring mind would have either occasioned the ruin of his family, or have raised the house of Austria to a greater height than it had ever before attained.

The death of Rhodolph having been preceded by that of his next brother Frederic, who was accidentally killed in the chase, the only remaining princes of the Austrian line were Albert, who was seventeen, and Leopold fifteen; and, in virtue of the family compact established by their father, and confirmed by Rhodolph, the sole administration was vested in Albert.

The first efforts of the two brothers were employed in securing the possession of the Tyrol. On the death of Margaret Maultasch, in 1366, Stephen of Bavaria, having again asserted his claims, advanced with a considerable force into the Tyrol, captured Kuffstein, Kitzbühl, and Rotemberg, and penetrated even to the frontiers of Carinthia. The Austrian princes made preparations to repel this attack; but prudently endeavoured to terminate the

dispute, by obtaining the powerful mediation of the emperor Charles. Various conferences were held for three successive years, and at length, in 1369, an accommodation was effected at Scharding, by which the Bavarian princes renounced their pretensions to the Tyrol, and, in return, received the sum of 116,000 florins, with the cession of Kuffstein and Kitzbühl, and the restitution of Scharding, which had been mortgaged to the House of Austria. This acquisition increased the power and authority of this illustrious house, as the Tyrol commanded the passes into Italy, and was rich in mines, which produced a considerable revenue, and inhabited by a hardy race, remarkable for military spirit and loyalty.

The discordant characters of the two Austrian princes were ill calculated to maintain the family union, which had hitherto been religiously preserved; for the avidity and ambition of Leopold overthrew the system established by his ancestors, for securing, undiminished, the power and possessions of his family.

Albert was a prince of a placid and inactive disposition, devoted to the exercises of religion, and attached to the pursuits of literature and the study of the abstract sciences. Leopold, on the contrary, was of an impetuous and aspiring temper, equally prodigal and rapacious, and inferior to none of his predecessors in military spirit. He was at first intrusted with the administration of the Suabian territories, and divided with Albert the government of the Tyrol; but, ambitious of power, and impatient of control, he extorted a new family compact, by which he left only Austria to his brother, and acquired, in addition to the territories in Alsace and Suabia, Styria, Carinthia, with their dependencies, and the exclusive possession of the Tyrol, together with the city of Neustadt, and the neighbouring district.

As not only the family compact, but the imperial investiture established the indivisibility of the Austrian territories, and vested the administration in the eldest brother, Leopold applied for the consent of the emperor to the new arrangement. Charles readily gave his sanction, observing, at the same time, "We have long laboured in vain to humble the house of Austria, and now the dukes of Austria have humbled themselves."

Leopold equalled, if he did not surpass his ancestors, in his eagerness to increase his possessions, and extend his influence: he purchased Friburgh in the Brisgau, received the little town of Basle from the bishop, whom he had succoured against his rebellious subjects, acquired the county of Feldkirch from the counts of Montfort, wrested Pludenz, Sargans, and the Rheinthal from the count of Werdenberg, and obtained from the emperor Wenceslaus the baillages of Upper and Lower Suabia, with the revenues of the towns of Augsburgh and Gingen.

In the midst of these efforts to aggrandize his family, the dominions of Leopold in Alsace and Helvetia were exposed to an alarming invasion, by his cousin, the celebrated Enguerrand de Coucy. This distinguished warrior, being sent as an hostage into England, after the battle of Poitiers, for the discharge of the ransom of John, king of France, acquired the favour of Edward III., who gave him his daughter Isabella in marriage, conferred on him the order of the Garter, and created him earl of Bedford and Aumerle. On the renewal of the war between England and France, unwilling to serve either against his sovereign or his father-in-law, he passed into Italy, where he rendered essential services to popes Urban V. and Gregory XI. against the powerful House of Visconti.

In 1375, he collected the martial bands of various nations, who were left destitute of employment and maintenance by the peace between France and England; and among others his fame drew to his standard 6000 English, distinguished for the splendour of their appearance.* With this force, amounting to 40,000 men, Coucy marched to the banks of the Rhine, and, advancing into Alsace, claimed various lands and districts as the marriage portion of his mother. Leopold rejected this demand as contrary to the established rules of the family succession: but, unable to oppose so formidable an enemy, immured himself in Brisach, and devasted the country to cut off their subsistence. He applied to the Swiss for succour; but Bern and Zurich alone listened to his application, and the other cantons refused to take the field.

* From this circumstance his army was called, by the Swiss historians, the English bands.

Meanwhile the invaders passed the boundaries of Helvetia, penetrated by Waldenburgh and Balstal to Buren, and overspread the whole territory along the Aar, from the lake of Bienne to that of Zurich, demolishing the principal castles, and laying waste the country. They received the first check from the hardy natives of Entlibuch, who alone, of all the Austrian subjects, ventured to resist the torrent. Collecting in the valley of Russwyl, and being joined by some adventurous warriors from the Forest Cantons, the hardy natives attacked and defeated a body of 3000 at the village of Buttisholz, near the lake of Sempach; while the people who dwelt in the vicinity of the lakes of Bienne, Morat, and Neuchatel, had routed another body at Anet, near Cerlier. But the most decisive blow was struck by the citizens of Bern, who, in the depth of winter, advanced by night against a corps at Frauenbrunnen, under the command of a Welsh chieftain, and discomfited them with the loss of 800 men.

These repeated defeats, with cold and hunger, which were called the best allies of the duke of Austria, creating discontents among his desultory troops, Coucy retired into Alsace. After devastating that country, he relinquished his claims, either from an inability to maintain his forces, or from the cession of Buren and Nidau, which he received from Leopold. His soldiers, according to the custom of the times, dispersed; Coucy himself terminated his romantic career in a crusade against the Turks, and, being made prisoner at the battle of Nicopolis, died in confinement.*

Leopold was scarcely delivered from the invasion of Coucy, before he was involved in the wars of Italy, between Venice, the king of Hungary, and the house of Carrara. Venice owes her origin in so singular a situation, to the invasion of the Huns, under Attila, and the other barbarous nations who overran Italy on the downfal of the Roman empire. The inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, being driven from their possessions, fled to the small islands of the Rialto, where they found an asylum from the attacks of their conquerors. These first colonists were gradually joined by others, and while their situation and poverty sheltered them from invasion, the inhabitants of

* Anselme, vol. viii. p. 442. Moreri.

the various islands, which now compose the city of Venice, gradually formed a government, which was at first democratical, but afterwards changed into a permanent aristocracy, consisting of an hereditary great council, and a duke, or a doge, chosen for life. This form of government was admirably calculated for the augmentation of a small state; for the senate or great council, being permanent and hereditary, was enabled to pursue a regular system of policy, and the doge, like the Roman consuls, was eager to distinguish his reign by splendid actions and acquisitions of territory.

Their maritime situation rendered them expert in navigation, and enabled them gradually to extend their commerce and connections to more distant parts: by these means the colony augmented, and, in the latter end of the seventh century, occupied not less than seventy-two islands. Their commerce and power increased so rapidly, that the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, exposed to the continual ravages of the pirates and banditti, a prey to civil dissensions, and unsupported by the weak government of the Greek emperor, threw themselves under the protection and dominion of Venice. The Venetian vessels, increasing in size and number, visited every harbour of the gulf, and their fleet became more and more powerful. The crusades, which impoverished almost every other state in Europe, greatly contributed to the aggrandisement of their naval strength, and the exercise of their skill. In conjunction with the French, they overthrew the throne of the Greeks, and established, in the thirteenth century, the Latin empire at Constantinople, which flourished for the space of sixty years. This empire was finally annihilated by the recovery of Constantinople, and the re-establishment of the Greek dynasty, under Michael Palæologus; but the Venetians obtained considerable advantages by the extension of their commerce, and the acquisition of Candia, Cephalonia, and Corfu, and many ports on the Hellespont and in the Morea. They likewise secured settlements and fixed establishments on the Persian Gulf; and by a treaty with the sultan of Egypt, were permitted to send consuls to the ports of Syria and Egypt. By these means they succeeded in monopolising the commerce of the East Indies; and maintained

the superiority of the sea over their rivals the Genoese, before the chief naval power in Europe.

But while the Venetians had extended their territories and influence along the shores of the Mediterranean, the Archipelago, and the Gulf of Persia, and while their fleet rode mistress from the Adriatic to the sea of Constantinople, they possessed no dominions in Italy, and were circumscribed within narrow bounds by the neighbouring state of Padua, under the government of the Carraras, and on the north by the Trevigiano, subject to Mascino della Scala, the powerful lord of Verona. At length they obtained territories in Italy by joining or fomenting a formidable league with the Visconti and Carraras against the family of Scala, and as their division of the spoils acquired the valuable province of the Trevigiano.

Their progress on the continent was soon checked by the invasion of Louis, king of Hungary. He had ascended the throne on the death of his father Charles Robert, in 1342, and by his talents, activity, and firmness, had gained the affection of his subjects, repressed internal commotions, and raised his country to a great height of power and splendour. One of the first acts of his reign was to lay claim to Dalmatia, which had formerly been held by the kings of Hungary; but from a desire to avenge the murder of his brother Andrew, who was supposed to have been assassinated by his wife Joan, queen of Naples*, he relin-

* Charles, the second king of Naples of the house of Anjou, had several sons, among whom were Charles Martel, Robert, Philip, prince of Taranto, and John, duke of Durazzo. Charles Martel died in 1295, before his father, leaving an infant son, Charles Robert, or Carobert; but from the uncertain laws of succession at that period, Robert succeeded to the throne. Charles Robert became king of Hungary, and left two sons, Louis, surnamed the Great, who succeeded him, and Andrew, who espoused Joan, grand-daughter and heiress of his uncle Robert. Disgusts and perpetual quarrels arising between Joan and her husband, Andrew was strangled at Aversa, in 1345, by the creatures of the queen, and almost in her presence; and she soon afterwards married her cousin and favourite, Louis, prince of Taranto. To avenge this murder, which was attributed to the queen, Louis invaded and conquered Naples. Joan underwent a mock trial for the murder, at the papal court of Avignon, received absolution, and an accommodation being effected by the mediation of the pope, was permitted to resume the crown.—Muratori, Villani, and Giannone.

quished his pretensions, and entered into a truce with the republic. Soon after his return from the conquest of Naples, he reclaimed Dalmatia, and his demand being rejected, in 1357 he despatched a powerful army into that country, and, at the head of an equal force, burst into the Trevigiano. Being assisted by the patriarch of Acquileia, and encouraged by the lord of Padua, he took the whole province, except Trevigi the capital, and made himself master of the principal towns of Dalmatia.

The Venetians, thus reduced to extremities, obtained peace through the intervention of the pope, by ceding Dalmatia and its dependencies, and the Hungarian troops retired from the Trevigiano. They had scarcely recovered from this unfortunate war, before they were embarrassed by the intrigues of the active, vigilant, and enterprising Francis of Carrara, who, though he had contributed to their aggrandisement in Italy, was jealous of their encroaching spirit, and apprehensive lest he should experience the fate of the lord of Verona. He attempted, by fomenting a secret conspiracy, to overturn the government; and the discovery of his intrigues involved him in a war with the republic. He obtained assistance from the king of Hungary, and at first prosecuted the war with considerable success; but discontents arising among the Hungarians, in consequence of a defeat, in which the waivode of Transylvania, and other considerable officers, were made prisoners, Louis withdrew his troops. Francis was thus reduced to the necessity of accepting the most humiliating terms of peace, and, in 1373, his son repairing to Venice, sued for pardon on his knees, in the name of his father, before the council of the haughty republic.

Indignant at the dishonour to which he had been reduced, Francis again applied to the king of Hungary, and intrigued in every court of Italy, to excite enemies against Venice. Disappointed in his endeavours, he made overtures to Leopold of Austria, instigated him to invade the Venetian territories, and encouraged him with the hopes of easily obtaining an establishment in Italy.

Leopold, possessor of the Tyrol, and master of Feltri and Belluno, which he had acquired during the preceding transactions, either by purchase or cession, eagerly listened

to these representations. In the midst of peace he marched from the Tyrol with a considerable force, overran the Trevigiano, and attempted to surprise the capital. But the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants giving time to the Venetians to assemble their forces, and procure assistance from their ally the duke of Ferrara, he retreated, and was routed on the banks of the Piava. The Venetians, pursuing their success, advanced against Feltri and Belluno; but were compelled in their turn to retreat, by Leopold, who had obtained a reinforcement. This desultory warfare was renewed on the approach of spring, till both armies being thinned by frequent skirmishes and the severity of the weather, the two parties accepted the mediation of Louis of Hungary, and, in 1377, concluded a truce for two years.

Before the expiration of the truce, Carrara, by his intrigues and exertions, united Ancona, Genoa, the patriarch of Acquileia, and the king of Hungary, in a league against the Venetians, By this formidable confederacy the republic was exposed to a danger which she had never yet experienced since the establishment of her empire. Her fleet was defeated and almost annihilated by that of Genoa; the lagunes were blocked up by the capture of the isle of Chiozza, her territories overran by the confederate arms, and the city itself menaced by famine. But by the fortitude of her governors, the vigour of her counsels, the skill of her generals, and the valour of her forces, she recovered from her desperate situation, rejected the humiliating terms offered by her enemies, and again asserted that ascendency which she had so long maintained in the Adriatic.

During these transactions, the alliance of Leopold had been warmly courted by the confederates; yet he firmly maintained the truce which he had concluded, and at length the Venetians secured his neutrality by ceding the Trevigiano. In May, 1381, Leopold advanced into that province with 10,000 men, relieved the capital, which was on the point of surrendering to the troops of Carrara, was hailed by the inhabitants as their sovereign, and received an embassy from Venice to congratulate him on his new acquisition. He soon afterwards returned into Germany, and a peace was concluded between the belligerent powers.

This peace did not secure to Leopold the possession of his new dominions; for on his departure the wily lord of Carrara seduced his troops, ravaged his country, and, under the Hungarian banners, kept the capital in a state of alarm and blockade for the space of eighteen months. At length Leopold hastened at the head of 8,000 men, with a supply of provisions, but soon wearied with this state of continual warfare, and alarmed with the rising discontents in Suabia aud Alsace, he sold, in May, 1283, to Francis of Carrara the Trevigiano, with the districts of Belluno and Feltri, for the sum of 60,000 ducats.

He was, however, in some measure indemnified for his disappointment by the acquisition of Triest. During the Venetian war, the inhabitants, dissatisfied with the government of Venice, had rebelled, and surrendered themselves to the confederate forces; and the sovereignty of the city was transferred to the patriarch of Acquileia. But the people, harassed with intestine commotions, and finding the new sovereign too weak to protect them against their former governors, whose dominion they dreaded, offered their submission to Leopold. He accepted their overtures, promised to respect their privileges, and preserve their municipal government, appointed a captain or prefect in the city, and secured to the house of Austria an important port on the shore of the Adriatic.

At this period Leopold experienced a still severer check than the loss of the Trevigiano, by the disappointment of his hopes to procure the crown of Poland for his son William. Louis the Great, king of Hungary and Poland, was related to the dukes of Austria, by descent from their common ancestor the emperor Albert. Having only two daughters, Maria and Hedwige, he destined for their dower the crowns of Hungary and Poland, affianced Mary to Sigismond, prince of Bohemia, son of the emperor Charles, and proposed to give Hedwige in marriage to William of Austria. With the prospect of this splendid alliance, William was educated in the court of Louis, and from the elegance of his manners acquired the epithet of Delightful; Hedwige was likewise permitted to reside at Vienna, while she was recalled to Poland by her father, during his last illness. They were formally affianced at Buda, and Wil-

liam deemed himself secure of possessing the hand of the most beautiful and accomplished princess of the age; while Hedwige, no less captivated with his splendid qualities, was impatient to present her intended husband with the crown of Poland. But the hopes of the young lovers were cruelly disappointed. On the death of Louis, Hedwige was joyfully received by her new subjects, and solemnly crowned. Soon after this ceremony, Jaghellon, duke of Lithuania, sued for her hand, and offered to unite his duchy with the kingdom of Poland, and to embrace the Christian religion. Hedwige, faithful to her attachment, and abhorring an alliance with a prince neither attractive in person, nor civilised in manners, rejected the offer with disdain, and publicly declared that she would espouse no one except the duke of Austria. But the Polish nobles, dazzled by the advantages of uniting Poland and Lithuania, and the clergy ambitious to receive into the church so illustrious a convert, warmly supported the offers of Jaghellon, obtained the approbation of the queen-mother, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Hedwige, returned a favourable answer to the Lithuanian ambassadors.

Meanwhile William hastened to Cracow with a splendid suite and considerable treasure; but was refused admittance into the presence of the young queen by the ruling party, who favoured Jaghellon. All the endeavours of the two lovers to meet for the celebration of their marriage were prevented, and William, dreading the fury of the nobles, retired from Poland. Soon after his departure in 1386, his hopes were totally frustrated by the arrival of Jaghellon, who, being baptized by the name of Ladislaus, received the hand of the princess, and ascended the throne.

During these events, Leopold, affected by the unfortunate termination of the war in Italy, the loss of the crown of Poland, and the exhausted state of his finances, sunk into a depression of spirits, which incapacitated him for bodily or mental exertion. He neglected the administration of affairs, and his bailiffs and feudal chiefs, who were freed from his control, were guilty of great tyranny and excessive exactions. Symptoms of discontent soon broke out in Suabia, of which Leopold was imperial bailiff; above forty of the towns renewed the confederacy which they had

formerly established against the oppressions of the princes and nobles, and were joined by Strasburgh, Mentz, and the principal cities on the Rhine. To strengthen their league, and to secure allies in the heart of the Austrian possessions, they sought the accession of the Helvetic confederates, whom they considered as the enemies of the house of Austria, from prejudice, interest, and situation.

Many causes of misunderstanding had contributed to aggravate the natural jealousy between the house of Austria and the Helvetic states. Leopold had evinced an inclination to recover the authority of his ancestors, and had recently shackled the commerce of the Forest Cantons and Zurich, by the imposition of additional tolls at Rapperschwyl and Rotemberg; he had likewise taken part in a contest between Bern and a collateral branch of the family of Hapsburgh. Rhodolph *, count of Bergdorf and Thun, had mortgaged Thun to the burghers of Bern. As he was in necessitous circumstances, and of a daring temper, he endeavoured to cancel the mortgage, and even to recover Aarberg, which his ancestors had sold to the Berners; and entered into a conspiracy to surprise Soleure, a town connected with them by alliance. His attempts being defeated, and his plans discovered, the Berners, in conjunction with the confederates, laid siege to Bergdorf; the citizens agreed to surrender if no succours arrived within a certain time; but having received a reinforcement of Austrian troops, they refused to fulfil their capitulation, and the confederates, in December, 1385, raised the siege. Although this contest was terminated by the death of Rhodolph, and his brothers ceded Bergdorf and Thun to Bern, yet the interference of Leopold disgusted the confederates, and Bern, Zurich, and Zug, with the town of Soleure, joined the union of the Suabian cities, and warmly solicited the accession of the other cantons.

Alarmed with this formidable league, Leopold roused himself from his lethargy, and repaired to Zurich, pacified the people of Schweitz, by abolishing the tolls imposed at Rapperschwyl, and by their means gained the three other

* Rhodolph was the head of that branch of the House of Hapsburgh Lauffenburgh which possessed Bergdorf and Thun, with the landgraviate of Burgundy. By the death of his brother Ego, in 1415, the male line became extinct.

Forest Cantons; he also conciliated the burghers of Zurich, and detached them from the confederacy. He then appeased the discontents in Suabia, by repressing the exactions of the bailiffs, and by threats and promises dissolved the league of the cities on the Rhine. During these events he had smoothed and amused the Swiss by offers of perpetual peace, and splendid promises, but having pacified the imperial cities, he became less compliant, and his governors and bailiffs renewed their oppressions. The inveterate aversion which the Swiss people had fostered against the Austrian family again revived, and a trifling dispute soon occasioned an open rupture. Leopold had pledged the castle and town of Wolhausen, with the Entlibuch, to Peter of Thorberg, and Rotemberg to Herman of Graunberg. These lords oppressing the inhabitants, the latter, instead of appealing to the duke their sovereign, sent their deputies to seek the protection of Lucern, and were admitted into the coburghership. The citizens of Lucern, also, who were aggrieved by imposition of heavy tolls at Rotemberg, seized this opportunity to attack and raze the castle and the walls of the town; and, instead of giving satisfaction for the outrage, admitted into their burghership the Entlibuch, with the Austrian towns of Sempach and Richensee.

Leopold, irritated by the defection of his subjects and the loss of his territories, was still further exasperated by the clamours of the neighbouring princes and nobles, who, being alarmed lest their vassals should follow the example of those of Austria, offered to assist in crushing so dangerous a confederacy. Both parties prepared for hostilities; and although Bern declined engaging in the contest, and the Suabian cities refused their assistance, Zurich, Zug, and the three Forest Cantons armed in defence of Lucern. A desultory but sanguinary warfare took place, the confederates anticipated their enemies by razing the castles of Wolhausen, Meyenburgh, and Caffenberg, and placed garrisons in Sempach and Richensee; and, on the other side, the Austrians having recovered Richensee, sated their vengeance by demolishing the town, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age.

The crisis now rapidly approached, and twenty succes-

sive messengers arrived in one day, with declarations of war from different lords against the confederates. Leopold soon collected a considerable army at Baden, and detached John de Bonstetten with a corps to Bruck, as if he meditated an attack on Zurich; but his views were in reality directed to penetrate by Sempach and Rotemberg, and make himself master of Lucern. The Forest Cantons, deceived by his dispositions, at first despatched 1,400 men for the defence of Zurich; but, being apprised of his plan, they prevailed on the burghers to undertake their own defence; and the greater part of the auxiliaries crossing the Reuss, directed their march towards Sempach. In their progress they were joined by bodies from Glarus, the Entlibuch, and the villages through which they passed, and on the 9th of July, 1396, arriving at Sempach, took post in the woods which skirt the lake and crown the neighbouring eminences, with a force of only 1,300 men.

On the evening of the preceding day, Leopold had occupied Sursee, and early in the morning advanced with a corps of 4,000 horse, and 1,400 foot, with the hope of surprising Sempach. Confident of success, his troops rode up to the walls, and insulted the citizens with taunts and threats. One held up a halter, exclaiming, "This is for your Avoyer!" and others, alluding to the stragglers who were lying waste the fields, cried, "Send a breakfast to the reapers." The burgomaster, pointing to the woods, replied, "My masters of Lucern, and their allies, will bring it."

The duke, surprised at the appearance of the confederates, instantly held a council of war, to decide whether the attack should be postponed till the arrival of the other forces. But the nobles unanimously exclaimed, "God has delivered these peasants into our hands; it would be shameful, armed as we are, to wait for succours against an ill-armed and almost naked rabble." The baron de Hasenberg, an experienced veteran, who had often witnessed the prowess of the Swiss, in vain represented the folly of despising the enemy, expatiated on the uncertainty of the fortune of war, and urged the duke to wait the arrival of Bonstetten. But his prudence only drew from the younger knights the censure of cowardice: one of them, calling him a hare in heart, as in name *, turned to the duke, and exultingly

* Hase signifies a hare.

said, "This very noon we will deliver up to you this handful of rustics." His petulancy was received with applause, and preparations were made for an immediate attack.

As the horses were fatigued by the march, and the woods were impracticable for cavalry, the knights dismounted, ordered the foot into the rear, and formed themselves into a solid and compact body. At this moment the Swiss, according to their custom, threw themselves on their knees, and with uplifted hands, implored the assistance of the Most High. Some of the Austrians observing this action, exclaimed, "They are supplicating for pardon!" but they were soon undeceived, for the confederate troops instantly quitted the woods, and with shouts and exclamations poured down into the plain. A few only were in armour; some brandished the halberts which their forefathers had wielded at Morgarten; others bore two-handed swords and battle-axes, and instead of shields, wore boards fastened to their left arms; the Austrian host, on the contrary, covered from head to foot with blazing armour, presented a solid range of shields, and a horrent front of projecting spears.

The Swiss drew up in the form of a wedge, and rushed with their usual impetuosity to the attack, but made no impression on this formidable phalanx; the banner of Lucern was exposed to imminent danger, and the landamman, with sixty of their most adventurous warriors, fell before a single enemy received a wound. They hesitated for a moment, regarding their enemies with a mixture of indignation and despair; while the flanks of the phalanx advancing in a crescent, endeavoured to close on their rear. At this awful crisis, Arnold de Winkelried, a knight of Underwalden, bursting from the ranks, exclaimed "I will open a passage into the line; protect, dear countrymen and confederates, my wife and children!" Then throwing himself on the enemy, he seized as many pikes as he could grasp, and burying them in his bosom, bore them by his weight to the ground. His companions rushed over his expiring body, and forced themselves into the heart of the line, others with equal intrepidity penetrated into the intervals occasioned by the shock, and the whole unwieldy mass was thrown into confusion and dismay. The knights, oppressed

with their ponderous armour, and incumbered with their long spears, were unable to withstand the impetuous assault of the Swiss, or to recover from their disorder; and their servants, perceiving the general consternation, mounted the horses of their masters, and left them no hope of safety by flight. The fight was for a while sustained by the efforts of personal valour, and the undaunted spirit of chivalry; but the havoc soon became general; numbers fell by the sword of the enemy; many perished by the pressure of their companions and the intense heat, and not less than 2,000, of whom almost one third were counts, barons, and knights, were numbered among the slain.

In this memorable engagement, Leopold behaved with a spirit and magnanimity worthy of his high birth and illustrious descent. Before the commencement of the fight being exhorted by his attendants not to expose his person, he replied, "God forbid that I should endeavour to save my own life, and leave you to die! I will share your fate, and in this my country, and with my own people, I will either conquer or perish!" In the heat of the contest he was again urged to consult his safety; but refused to desert his followers; and exclaimed, "I would rather die honourably than live with dishonour!" At this moment Henry de Eschelof, the bearer of the Austrian standard, was struck to the ground. Ulric of Aarberg raised it anew, but soon fell mortally wounded, exclaiming, "Help! Austria! help!" Leopold rushed towards him, received the banner, steeped in gore, from his dying hand, and once more waving it on high, renewed the conflict. His knights pressed round him, the battle raged with new fury, and most of his companions in arms were killed by his side. Seeing the day lost, he threw himself among the thickest of the enemy, and fell by an unknown hand; his body was afterwards found covered with wounds beneath a heap of slain.

Two hundred only of the confederates fell in this memorable battle, among whom were their most distinguished chiefs. Fatigued with slaughter, and the excessive heat, they did not pursue the fugitives; but returned their usual thanksgiving to Heaven on the field, and the following day agreed to an armistice for burying the dead. The remains

of Leopold and twenty-seven of his most illustrious followers were conveyed to the abbey of Konigsfelden, and the bodies of the lords of Argau were deposited in the tombs of their ancestors. Those of inferior note were buried on the spot; the two hundred confederates received funeral honours at Lucern, and as at Morgarten a solemn anniversary was established in commemoration of the victory.*

Thus perished Leopold, a victim to the presumption of his followers and his own daring intrepidity, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and after a restless and turbulent reign of twenty years. During this period, he evinced the same talents, disposition, and character which he had shown at an early age, and proved himself to be more fitted for the romantic profession of a knight errant, and the high feats of chivalry, than to fulfil the sober duties of a sovereign. By his first wife Catherine, daughter of Meinhard, count of Goritz, who died in 1363, he left no children.

* On the anniversary a large body of persons of all ranks assemble on the spot where the battle was fought; a priest ascends a pulpit erected in the open air, and delivers a thanksgiving sermon on the successful efforts of their ancestors on that happy day, which insured to their country liberty and independence. At the conclusion of this sermon, another priest reads a description of the battle, and commemorates the names of those brave Swiss who gloriously sacrificed their lives in defence of their freedom. Having exhorted those who are present to pray for the souls of their countrymen, and of the enemies who fell in that battle, they all repair instantly to a small chapel, where masses are sung for the souls of the deceased. During this service, the people falling on their knees, pray for their glorious ancestors, either in the chapel, on the walls of which are painted the deeds of the Swiss who immortalised themselves in this conflict, or near four stone crosses, which distinguish the place of combat.

The names of the principal persons who were slain on both sides are given in Tschudi, vol. i. p. 526., Fugger, p. 370., and Gerard de Roo, and occupy the space of nearly three folio pages. Among these are distinguished the margrave of Hochberg, the Palatine of Tubingen, the counts of Furstenberg, Tierstern, Montbeillard, Ochsenstein, Tick, Tockenburgh, Schwartzenburgh, Zollern, Ortemburgh, Rotemburgh, Schaumburgh, Strakenberg, and Wartenfels. Figures of Leopold and the principal knights were coarsely painted on the walls of the chapel at Konigsfelden. They are represented kneeling, and in complete armour, of which a specimen is given in Fugger, p. 376., and the paintings remained when I visited the convent.

His second, Virida, daughter of Barnabas Visconti, duke of Milan, whom he espoused in 1366, bore him four sons, William, Leopold, Ernest, and Frederick, and a daughter Elizabeth, who was born in 1382, and affianced to Henry, count of Goritz, but died in 1391.

The defeat of Leopold, and the battle of Sempach did not terminate the war, or depress the courage of the Austrian princes and their allies; for six days after the battle, not less than fifty nobles, among whom was the burgrave of Nuremberg, the archbishop of Mentz, and the bishop of Bamberg, sent declarations of war to the victorious confederates; and Leopold, second son of the late duke, though scarcely fifteen, hastened to superintend the preparations, to avenge the death of his father, and retrieve the honour of his family. A desultory war was continued in various parts of Helvetia; the Swiss, encouraged by their astonishing success, prosecuted hostilities with spirit and vigour, and by the accession of Bern, acquired additional strength. The important post of Wesen on the lake of Wallenstadt, which commanded the passes into the cantons of Glarus, and cut off the communication with Zurich, was surprised and garrisoned by the Swiss; and the men of Gaster and Sargens, subjects of Austria, accepted the protection of Glarus. The citizens of Bern repelled the aggressions of the people of Kyburgh, who had continued invariably attached to their sovereigns, and took several forts in the vicinity belonging to the vassals of the House of Austria. The sons of the deceased Leopold being dispirited by these reverses, distressed for the means of supporting the war, and weakened by the loss of their principal nobility at the battle of Sempach, concluded an armistice of eighteen months.

During this interval of tranquillity, both parties employed their efforts in fortifying and securing the strong places, and preparing for the renewal of hostilities. The people of Glarus acknowledged the supreme authority of the abbess of Seckingen, and the rights of the family of Austria, as advocates of that abbey; but emulating the example of the Swiss, they established regulations which greatly reduced their power and influence. This innovation displeased the Austrian princes, and the truce was

scarcely expired, before they renewed hostilities, and directed their principal efforts against Glarus. Early in the spring of 1388 their troops surprised the town of Wesen, massacred the garrison, and in April an army of 8000 men, commanded by the count of Tockenburgh, forced the intrenchments which protected the frontier, and devastating the country with fire and sword, penetrated as far as Naefels. Here only 350 men of Glarus, with 50 of Schweitz, who had crossed the mountains by night, waited their approach, on the hill of Ruti. Despising so inconsiderable a body, part of the Austrian troops dispersed themselves to plunder, and burnt Naefels ; the remainder attacked the Swiss, and experienced the same fate as their forefathers at Morgarten. The Swiss hurled down on them large stones and fragments of rock, and having thrown the horse into confusion, rushed from the heights, and attacked them with their characteristic impetuosity. At this critical juncture, the mountains resounded with shouts of exultation, and a band of warriors descending from the Upper Valley, assailed the Austrians, already in confusion. Seized with a panic, they fled in all directions, and were pursued by the assailants with redoubled ardour; many were slain in the flight, and more drowned in the lake of Wallenstadt, by the breaking of the bridge of Wesen. One hundred and eighty knights, and two thousand soldiers perished in the conflict, or the flight; and eleven banners, with a thousand suits of armour, were preserved as trophies of the victory. The conquerors, after their customary devotions, passed the night on the field of battle, and advancing the next morning, sacked and burnt Wesen.

The troops of Zurich, which had assembled too late for the succour of Glarus, joined the victors, and besieged Rapperschwyl: on the other side, Bern took the Austrian towns of Nidau, Buren, and Unterseven, and extended her conquest as far as Bruck, and the valley of Frick on the Rhine. The counts of Tockenburgh made a separate peace with the Swiss; and at length the dukes of Austria, apprehensive of the defection of the Thurgau, which was agitated with discontents, and dreading the loss of the Argau, which was threatened by the arms of Bern and Zurich; engaged

in wars and troubles on the side of Austria, and disunited by family quarrels, concluded, in 1388, a truce for seven years. The Swiss were to maintain their alliances, and preserve their possessions during the continuance of the truce, with all their conquests, except Wesen; the dukes of Austria agreed to establish no fresh tolls or imposts, and the confederates were not to admit any subjects of Austria, not residing within their boundaries, into their co-burghership. Future disputes were to be adjusted by arbitration.

This truce was prolonged in 1394, for twenty years, at the request of Leopold, who had succeeded to the dominions of his father in Helvetia; and on this occasion he renounced all claims to the conquests of the confederates, promised not to fortify Wesen, limited the contributions of Zug and Glarus, and confirmed their league with the Swiss, together with that of Entlibuch, and Sempach with Lucern.

CHAP. X.—ALBERT, WILLIAM, AND LEOPOLD.—1365–1411.

DURING the period in which Leopold II. was engaged either in the wars of Italy, or in his contest with the Swiss, Albert was principally occupied in maintaining the internal tranquillity of Austria, by extirpating banditti, and curbing the refractory nobles, who frequently abused his mildness, and defied his authority. Devoted to the arts and sciences, he completed the buildings and establishments which were begun by his brother Rhodolph; he gave new privileges to the university of Vienna, and founded professorships of theology and mathematics. He cultivated a good understanding with the neighbouring powers, and cemented his connection with the House of Luxemburgh, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Charles IV.

Unlike his warlike predecessors, Albert was little distinguished in the field. He in 1377, however, appears to have made an expedition into Prussia, in favour of the

Teutonic knights, in consequence of which he received the order of knighthood.

In 1395, he engaged in a war with Bohemia. The capricious and tyrannical proceedings of Wenceslaus having irritated his subjects, and created discontents throughout the empire, a party of the Bohemian nobles rose in arms, seized his person, confined him in the castle of Prague, and gave the administration of affairs to his cousin Jodocus, margrave of Moravia*; but his younger brother, John of Luxemburgh, having assembled an army for his release, the nobles transferred him to Wilsberg, a castle in Austria, belonging to the count of Staremberg. John, however, advanced into Austria, and obtained the liberation of his brother; and, on the return of Wenceslaus to Bohemia, a civil war ensued. Albert sided with the nobles, and entered Bohemia at the head of an army; but the expedition proved fatal, for he was seized in the camp with a mortal disorder, and being conveyed back in haste to Laxendorf, he died on the 29th of August, 1395, aged forty-six.

His death was sincerely lamented by his subjects, who adored him for his mild and placid temper, and the inhabitants of Vienna crowded round his corpse, exclaiming, "We have lost our friend, our true father!" In his manners he is said to have been serious, and tardy in speech, but with his friends and family cheerful and affable; he was slow to anger, yet when provoked not easily appeased. A chronicler of the times thus describes him: "He was a lover of peace, a pious and meek prince. He took up his principal residence at Laxendorf, near two miles from Vienna. Here he shook off as much as possible all business, and declining all secular pomp, imitated, in true simplicity, the life of a Carthusian. He worked in the garden with his own hands, and studying Palladius on Rural Economy, amused himself with planting and horticulture."

Albert himself gave an example in the study of theology and the mathematics, and received the appellation of the Astrologer, from his fondness for judicial astrology. He

* He was son of John Henry, second son of John, king of Bohemia.

is likewise called by the chronicles of the times, "Albert with the Tress," because he wore a lock of hair, which he received either from his wife, or from some other distinguished lady, entwined with his own, and formed a society of the Tress, not unlike the commencement of our order of the Garter.

By his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of Charles IV., Albert had no children; but by his second, Beatrice, daughter of Frederic, burgrave of Nuremburgh, he left an only son, Albert, in the sixteenth year of his age.

Albert, being fond of tranquillity, and desirous to maintain peace with the younger branch of his family, had gradually yielded to Leopold all his dominions, except Austria. On the death of Leopold, he resumed the administration of affairs as head of the family, but when the young princes, his nephews, had reached a mature age, they extorted from him the dominions which had been held by their father. William administered the government of Styria and Carinthia, Carniola, and their dependencies; Leopold that of the Tyrol, with the territories in Suabia, Alsace, and Helvetia; while Ernest and Frederic, being minors at the time of the partition, did not till afterwards obtain an allotment of their paternal inheritance.

On the death of Albert, William claimed the administration of Austria, as the eldest member of the family, but being opposed by young Albert, his cousin, violent dissensions arose between the two relatives, till it was at length settled that both princes should exercise a joint administration during their lives, and after their deaths, the government was to be vested in the eldest surviving member of the family.

After this agreement, Albert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, leaving the reins of government in the hands of William. His journey to the Holy Land gave rise to romantic stories of his adventures, which have been consigned to verse, and obtained for him the appellation of the Wonder of the World. On his return to Vienna, he espoused Joanna, daughter of Albert, duke of Holland and Zealand. Yet, however he may be celebrated for the romantic adventures of his journey, his reign is distinguished by few remarkable events in the sober pages of history. He dis-

played, indeed, great prudence in the civil contests between the branches of the house of Luxemburgh ; he received from his uncle Sigismond, king of Hungary, the highest marks of confidence, and when that monarch arrested his brother, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, was intrusted with the care of his person, and treated his royal captive with great kindness and complacency. He connived at or favoured his escape, and having assisted in restoring him to his crown, obtained the renewal of the compact of reciprocal succession ; but he did not lose the confidence of Sigismond, and for the assistance which he afforded in the wars of Hungary, was rewarded with the reversion of that crown in failure of issue male. He also joined Sigismond in reducing Sackoschia, a Moravian chieftain, who had obtained possession of Znaim, captured the Austrian fortress of Laa, and made incursions into Austria and Hungary. They led their combined forces against Znaim, and reduced the place to extremity, but were poisoned during an entertainment, by the emissaries of the marauder, who had proposed a surrender. Sigismond recovered with extreme difficulty, and Albert retired, and on the 14th of September, 1404, died at Closter Neuburgh, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

Albert IV. resembled his father in his speculative disposition, sequestered life, and devotion to the church ; and is thus described by a contemporary Carthusian, who seems to have witnessed the religious fervour of the princely recluse : " The pious son of a pious father, he followed such an example of devotion and humility. On his return from the Holy Land, and the sepulchre of our Lord, he passed great part of his time with the Carthusians, at Maurbach, in the valley of All Saints. With them he attends matins, reads the lessons, makes inclinations, genuflexions, observes ceremonies, confessions, and prayers. He not only joins them in the performance of divine service in the choir, but affords an example of humility, by frequenting the chapter-house. In a word, he calls himself brother Albert, and considers himself in every respect as one of the order."

He left a son, Albert V., in the seventh year of his age, and a daughter, Margaret, who afterwards married Henry, duke of Bavaria, of the line of Landshut, and died in 1447.

On the decease of Albert IV., William became guardian of the young prince; and administered the government of Austria with equal spirit and prudence, until his death, which happened in 1406. He left no issue by his wife Joanna, daughter of Charles Durazzo, king of Naples and Hungary.

The deaths of Albert IV. and William gave a loose to the spirit of rapacity and discord which animated the different princes of the house of Austria, and realised the prophetic observation of Charles IV., that the dukes of Austria, who had successfully resisted every external attempt, had humbled themselves by the impolitic division of their territories. The family may now be considered as divided into two lines, the Albertine and Leopoldine, of which the last was afterwards subdivided into the branches of Styria and Tyrol. The disputes which the meek and placid disposition of the two Alberts, and the ascendency of William, had in some degree repressed, now broke out without control, for the different branches not only acted upon separate principles and interests, but were perpetually at enmity, and often engaged in contests, by which the very existence of their house was endangered.

The dominions of Leopold II. were now divided between his three surviving sons: Leopold, the eldest, retained the territories in Helvetia, Alsace, and Suabia; Ernest received Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; and the Tyrol was assigned to Frederic.

During their joint administration in Austria, William and Albert had supported the house of Luxemburgh, in the contest for the throne of the empire; but Leopold adopted the part of the Anti-Cæsar, Robert, elector palatine, who had been chosen by a majority of the electors, on the deposition of Wenceslaus. He was gained by the largesses of the new king of the Romans, gave him a passage through the Tyrol, and accompanied him into Italy at the head of one thousand horse, with the hope of avenging the fate of his father-in-law, Barnabas Visconti, who had been deposed and imprisoned by John Galeas, duke of Milan*,

* The dominions of Milan were divided between Galeas II. and Barnabas, grandsons of Matthew Visconti. John Galeas succeeded his father Galeas 1378, and soon after his accession obtained the whole

and his family driven into exile. Robert, however, was attacked by the Milanese troops, on the banks of the Lago di Guardo, October 21. 1401, and his whole army routed; Leopold himself was taken prisoner, and obtained his liberty by promising to relinquish hostilities, and return to Germany.

From that period he employed himself in the government of the dominions intrusted to his care, without engaging in any remarkable enterprise, till the death of William called him to the administration of Austria and the guardianship of Albert.

Leopold repaired to Vienna to assume the administration; but the co-regency was claimed by Ernest and Frederic; and Leopold was compelled to associate Ernest, the most violent and ambitious of his brothers, in the government. In consequence of this partition of power, continual disputes arose; two factions were formed among their dependents, and Austria was agitated by civil commotions more dreadful than at any period since it had been subjected to the domination of the house of Hapsburgh. Sometimes the power of Leopold was predominant, sometimes that of Ernest; and the aim of both was directed to enrich themselves by exactions and impositions, before the young Albert could assume the reins of government. Both parties, by a species of legal tyranny, sated their vengeance and avidity with the treasures and lives of their opponents, and alternately sacrificed the adherents of each other as they gained the ascendency. The nobles availed themselves of these contests to indulge the spirit of misrule and licentiousness, which had been repressed by the preceding sovereigns; robbers and banditti again infested the highways, insulted the towns and villages with impunity, and the whole country became a scene of pillage, devastation, and carnage.

Such was the deplorable state of Austria, till the death of Leopold in 1411, at the age of forty. He left no issue by his wife Catherine, daughter of Philip the Wise, duke of Burgundy. He was surnamed the Big, from the height

territories of his family, by putting Barnabas to death, and driving his sons into exile. In 1396, John Galeas obtained from the emperor Wenceslaus the title of duke.

of his stature and the largeness of his person, and the Courtly, from the elegance of his manners, and his polite deportment. He was a great patron of learning, and is distinguished in the annals of the times for his peculiar attention and complacency to men of letters.

CHAP. XI. — ALBERT V. EMPEROR. — 1411–1435.

ALBERT, who revived the dignity and splendour of his house, on the death of his father had only attained the eighth year of his age. After the decease of William, to whose care he was at first intrusted, he was placed under the guardianship of his two other uncles, Leopold and Ernest, and was encouraged to devote himself to hunting and other diversions, which might attract his attention from the affairs of government. Fortunately, however, his governor and preceptor were men of integrity and talents, and carefully instructed their young pupil in the sciences of the age, the arts of government, and the duties of religion.

On the death of Leopold he was declared major, though only in his fifteenth year, by the emperor Sigismond, and assumed the reins of government, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of his subjects, who looked up to their young sovereign as a deliverer from the exactions and tyranny of his uncles. Nor did Albert belie their expectations: he had seen with regret the contentions of his uncles, and the calamities of his country; and relinquishing the pleasures of the chase, and other amusements, which had hitherto seemed to engross his whole attention, he applied himself assiduously to the duties of his high station. He had the judgment to place at the head of affairs persons of experience and integrity, and the prudence to submit himself to their advice. His talents were gradually expanded and strengthened by practice, and the Austrian historians dwell with rapture on the administration of their youthful sovereign. They enumerate his excellent laws, his uniform

attention to the administration of justice; they describe his unwearied and successful efforts to extirpate banditti, and restore quiet and order; they extol his cultivation of letters and patronage of learned men, and proudly assert that while the neighbouring countries were involved in civil dissensions or external wars, Austria became a scene of prosperity, happiness, and tranquillity.

Sigismond, the patron and father-in-law of Albert, to whom the Austrian family was indebted for its subsequent grandeur, was second son of the emperor Charles IV. He obtained the throne of Hungary, in virtue of his marriage with Mary, daughter of Louis the Great, king of Hungary, became emperor on the deposition of his brother Wenceslaus, and, on his death, was elected king of Bohemia. He did not without great difficulty secure the crown of Hungary.

After the death of Louis, Mary, his eldest daughter, was crowned queen; but the administration was assumed by the dowager queen Elizabeth, and Nicholas Gara, grand palatine of the kingdom, while Sigismond was only nominated captain-general. Sigismond, disgusted with this arrangement, made no effort to support Mary on the throne; and did not even proceed to Hungary to solemnise his marriage. The turbulent nobles, dissatisfied with a female government, broke out into insurrection, and called in Charles of Durazzo, who had recently obtained the crown of Naples, by the deposition and murder of Joan. He was confirmed in his authority by the voluntary abdication of Mary; but he did not long enjoy his dignity, for he was assassinated in the same year, by the party of Elizabeth and the Palatine. This atrocious act roused the indignation of a powerful party, who imprisoned the two queens, and proclaimed Ladislaus, the infant son of Charles: Elizabeth was put to death; but Mary recovered her liberty by the assistance of Sigismond, and associated her husband in the government. After her death he retained the crown, notwithstanding the efforts of the Neapolitan party; though opposed and embarrassed by the factions of his turbulent nobles, and even once imprisoned, he soon recovered his authority; yet these intestine divisions occasioned the loss of the provinces which Louis had annexed to Hungary: Dalmatia again submitted to the Venetians, Red Russia to

the Poles, the tributary kingdoms of Servia, Wallachia, and Bosnia were overrun by the Turks, and Hungary itself exposed to their incursions.

Sigismond experienced still greater obstacles in obtaining quiet possession of Bohemia. Under the mild dominion of Charles IV., that kingdom, enjoying a long period of peace and tranquillity, had greatly increased in riches, splendour, and territory, and the natives were rapidly advancing in learning and civilisation. After the foundation of an university, Prague became the abode of learning and science, and students flocked from all quarters to receive their education among a people distinguished throughout Europe for their civil and military talents. But during the reign of Wenceslaus, son and successor of Charles, Bohemia rapidly declined; the nobles broke out into sedition, and were encouraged by Sigismond, who aspired to wrest from his brother the crowns of Bohemia and the empire. The inactive and careless monarch, addicted to wine and pleasures, was of a character ill calculated to repress these disorders; he gradually lost even the shadow of authority, and suffered a temporary imprisonment, first from his rebellious subjects, and afterwards from his brother. In the midst of these misfortunes, the reins of government were sometimes feebly held by Wenceslaus himself, sometimes by the factious nobles, and sometimes by Sigismond, under the title of Governor of Bohemia and Vicar-general of the empire. At length even the imperial crown was wrested from the brow of Wenceslaus, by a party of the electors, who nominated Robert, count palatine of the Rhine, in his stead; but Wenceslaus, still supported by numerous adherents, firmly refused to abdicate his dignity, and a schism took place which continued till the death of Robert, in 1410. Soon after this event Sigismond obtained the unanimous suffrages of the electoral college, and Wenceslaus, renouncing a dignity which he was unable to support, fixed his permanent residence in Bohemia.

In these circumstances a dispute, that under the reign of a more able monarch would probably have been confined within the walls of an university, gave rise to those religious feuds which occasioned the Hussite war, and rendered

Bohemia for many years a scene of rapine and carnage. In consequence of the long schism in the church*, the arrogant exactions of the pontiffs, and the licentious conduct of the clergy, several learned men began to embrace and propagate opinions hostile to the principles and pretensions of the Roman see. Among these, John Huss, of Hussinetz in Bohemia, a member of the university of Prague, and confessor to queen Sophia, the wife of Wenceslaus, strenuously asserted the principles of Wickliff, the English reformer, and levelled his attacks against the pretensions of the pope, particularly against the sale of indulgences issued by Boniface IX. Wenceslaus treating this affair with his usual levity and carelessness, encouraged Huss, from resentment against Boniface, whose intrigues had contributed to precipitate him from the imperial throne ; and even Sigismond himself did not disapprove the opposition raised against the sale of indulgences.

Dissensions accordingly took place in the university of Prague ; the German professors and students, who amounted to near four thousand, siding with the pope, and the Bohemians adopting the opinions of Huss. The death of the rector, and the contests for the election of a successor, aggravated the quarrel. By the ordinance of Charles IV., the foreign professors enjoyed three voices in the nomination of a rector, and the Bohemians only one ; but the regulation being reversed by Wenceslaus, Huss was appointed rector; and all the foreigners quitting Prague,

* From the election of Clement V., in 1305, the popes had resided at Avignon, till Gregory XI., in 1376, again removed the see to Rome. On his death two popes were chosen ; Urban VI., who resided at Rome ; and Clement VII., at Avignon ; each of these had a successor, and in 1409, the schism was increased, by the election of a third pope, at Bologna.

Rome.	*Avignon.*	*Bologna.*
Urban VI., 1378.	Clement VII., 1379.	———
Boniface IX., 1389.	Benedict XIII., 1395.	———
Innocent VII., 1404.	———	———
Gregory XII., 1406.	———	Alex. V., 1409.
		John XXIII., 1410

The three last were deposed by the council of Constance, in 1417.

established themselves in different parts of Germany, particularly at the new university of Leipzig.

This college dispute became a contest of party, and a cause of religious dissension; Huss and his followers exerted themselves with new ardour in the propagation of their opinions, and increased their adherents by translating the Bible into the Bohemian tongue. The violence of his invectives against the hierarchy of the church, and the rapid increase of his converts, began to excite the apprehensions of the popes themselves, and Huss was cited to appear at Rome, and afterwards summoned by the council of Constance. He declined the citation to Rome; but obtaining a safe conduct from Sigismond, he repaired to Constance, whither he was followed by his disciple Jerome of Prague; yet notwithstanding the imperial safe conduct, Huss and his disciple were subjected to the grossest insults, and, after a mock trial, were burnt alive.

The undaunted spirit displayed by these martyrs, in the hour of death, kindled a general enthusiasm; the infamous violation of the safe conduct roused the indignation of the Bohemians, and even Wenceslaus himself partook of the national resentment. The discussion of the new doctrines gave rise to new claims and new disputes; Jacobel of Mies, a Hussite preacher, equally distinguished for learning and morals, claimed, for the laity, the participation of the cup in the holy sacrament, or, as it was called, the communion under both kinds. This doctrine spread rapidly among the people, who having access to the Bible, by the new translation, perceived that it was sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures; it was adopted by the university of Prague; and many nobles and persons of rank joined the Hussites, particularly Nicholas, lord of Hussinetz, a man of great authority, who obtained several churches for the use of the communicants under both kinds.

Nothing was now wanting to give vigour and union to the cause of the Hussites, but a leader of distinguished enthusiasm and military talents, and this leader was found in Ziska.* John of Trocznow, surnamed Ziska, signalised

* The name Ziska is usually supposed to mean one-eyed; but the native historian informs us, that it has not that signification, either in the Bohemian, or of the Sclavonian dialects. According to some ac-

himself in the wars between the Prussians and Lithuanians, and was at this period a chamberlain to Wenceslaus, and from his lively conversation and eccentric character, a great favourite with his no less eccentric master. He seems to have early embraced the new doctrines, and to have been roused to enthusiasm by the fortitude which Huss and Jerome of Prague displayed at the stake. He felt no less keenly the indignity offered to his nation, by the breach of the safe conduct, and pondered in silence on the means of avenging their martyrdom, and asserting the honour of his country. Being frequently seen by the king with folded arms, and absorbed in thought, Wenceslaus demanded the cause of his unusual gloom. He replied, "What Bohemian can be otherwise than deeply affected, when his country is insulted by the infamous execution of Huss and Jerome?" The king carelessly shook his head, and answered, "What can we do to repair this injury? if thou canst devise any means, go and avenge thy countrymen; thou hast our free permission."

Encouraged by these words, Ziska quitted the court; he gained the confidence of the people by his zeal, and in one of the first tumults occasioned by the religious disputes, distinguished himself as the principal actor. As he accompanied a procession on the 16th of April, 1419, to the church of St. Stephen, in the new town of Prague, to receive the sacrament, one of the priests was struck by a stone, near the town-house, where the magistrates were assembled. Ziska, at the head of his party, instantly burst open the doors; and the magistrates being thrown out of the windows by the populace, were received on pikes, and massacred by the multitude below.

On receiving the news of this outrage, Wenceslaus died in a transport of passion, leaving Bohemia torn with intestine dissensions, without a ruler, and without a government. The most ardent among the Hussites gave way to fanatic enthusiasm; they broke into the churches and

counts, Ziska lost an eye in the battle between the Prussians and Lithuanians, in 1410; and according to an anonymous chronicle, he experienced that misfortune in his childhood. Towards the close of his life, he became totally blind, but still sustained his military career with success. — Pelzel, p. 315.

convents, overturned the altars, and destroyed the ornaments; they burnt the convent of the Carthusians, which order had taken a violent part against Huss, and committed other enormities. Swarms of the new sectaries assembled in the neighbourhood of Prague, and after receiving the sacrament in the open fields, flocked into the city, and joined the enraged populace.

During these proceedings queen Sophia, the widow of the deceased monarch, assumed the regency, at the instigation of the principal nobles. She collected the royal forces, hired foreign troops, and secured the castle and little town of Prague. At the same time the Hussite leaders, Ziska and Nicholas of Hussinetz, assembling a considerable body of their partisans, occupied the Wischbrad*, laid siege to the castle, and at length reduced the queen to conclude a suspension of arms, and to grant a general liberty of conscience. Prague was again restored to a temporary tranquillity; but Ziska, with a considerable number of followers, retired and fortified himself in Pilsen, and the whole country was desolated by a religious warfare.

Sigismond, as brother of the deceased sovereign, who died without issue, was the next in order of succession; but he was too much occupied with the affairs of Hungary, and the war against the Turks, to take immediate possession of the vacant throne. At length, towards the close of the year, he proceeded to Brun in Moravia, and summoned a meeting of the Bohemian and Moravian nobles, the burgraves of the royal castles, and the deputies of the cities. His orders were obeyed, and the deputies from Prague being admitted into his presence, entreated pardon for their past turbulence, and acknowledged him as their sovereign. Instead, however, of conciliating a people so enthusiastically attached to their religious opinions, the emperor commanded them to return to their city, to destroy the barricades they had formed in the streets, to demolish the fortifications they had erected against the castle, and not to disturb the Catholic clergy in their functions. He at the same time removed all the Hussites from offices of trust and dignity, and replaced them with Catholics. On the return of the deputies, the burghers of Prague obeyed

* An ancient fort on an eminence above the Mulda.

the orders of their sovereign, and the Catholic clergy and monks were restored to their functions.

Sigismond did not proceed to Prague, where his presence would have awed the malecontents; but, after commanding the magistrates and governors of the royal castles to prosecute all who adhered to the new doctrines, he repaired to Breslau, and gave another proof of his intolerant disposition, by proclaiming a crusade against the Hussites.

The citizens of Prague were roused by these acts of despotism and intolerance, and spread the alarm throughout the nation; while Ziska, whose camp at Pilsen afforded a refuge to those who fled from persecution, was active in forming and disciplining a military force. His efforts were seconded by the preachers, who declared that Christ was about to re-appear, and to destroy with fire all the cities on earth, except Pilsen, Saatz, Laun, Schlan, and Clattow. The people flocked to those cities; the forces under Ziska rapidly increased; many of the nobles and knights partook of the general enthusiasm, and in a solemn league formed at Pilsen, the confederates bound themselves to reject Sigismond as king, and to oppose any sovereign who was adverse to the administration of the communion under both kinds.

Meanwhile an army of royalists having invested Pilsen, Ziska evacuated the town, and though accompanied by the women and children, repulsed the royalists on his march, and effected a retreat to Mount Tabor. This post, which afterwards became so famous in the history of Bohemia, was an inconsiderable place, on the top of a steep mountain in the district of Bechin, where the Hussites held their religious meetings, and called it Tabor, in allusion to the Mount of that name in Holy Writ. The number of inhabitants being soon augmented by those who fled from persecution, walls were erected for the defence of the place. In this state it was occupied by Ziska, and under his direction was fortified with a skill far superior to the science of the times.* Tabor thus became the centre of the Hussite force, and from thence Ziska gradually inured

* Pelzel observes, that this fortress may be considered as the first essay in the modern style of fortification, and that Ziska was the author of that science.

his troops to war, by frequent excursions, in which he harassed the royalists, and demolished their fortresses.

All the efforts of Sigismond to conquer the Hussites, and to recover Bohemia, were baffled by the superior skill of Ziska*, and the successive Hussite leaders; and by the enthusiastic bravery with which a religious fervour inspired their troops. Three times assisted by all the powers of Germany, and encouraged by the exhortations and fulminations of the pope, who published a crusade against the Hussites, he led vast armies into the country. In the first expedition only, he concluded a temporary armistice with the citizens of Prague, and purchased the permission of being crowned in the castle, by granting a general liberty of conscience. His troops afterwards experienced great and continual defeats, until the very name of the Hussites became a terror to the Germans.†

Had the Hussites continued united, and faithful to their principles, Sigismond would never have obtained possession of Bohemia; but success had no sooner relieved them from

* So great was the power and influence of Ziska, that Sigismond sent ambassadors to offer him the dignity of governor of Bohemia, and the chief command of all his armies, if he would assist in restoring him the crown; but before the arrival of the embassy, Ziska died of the plague (Oct. 12. 1424), in his camp, before the town of Prebislana, which he was besieging. The place where his tent stood, and in which he died, is said by the historian of Bohemia, to remain still uncultivated.—Pelzel, p. 373.

† Pelzel has drawn a glowing picture of the fanaticism, bravery, and skill of the Hussites: "After the death of Wenceslaus, the Bohemians wrought themselves up into a state of phrenzy, of which few similar instances are recorded in history. They saw wonderful appearances in heaven; bloody and fiery crosses; and in their imaginations it rained blood. They fell upon one another like hungry wolves, and destroyed each other with fire and sword. Their leaders were principally priests and monks, who inspired the people with their own fanaticism. Continually in civil contests, the people improved the art of war: in battles they used with wonderful skill the common flail; they struck twenty or thirty times in a minute, and their blow was unerring. They also used poles armed with hooks, with which they tore the horseman from his saddle. They formed intrenchments with waggons divided into streets like a labyrinth, which were almost impregnable. They fortified Tabor as strongly and skilfully as our modern fortresses, and rendered it easily defensible with a small body of men."—Pelzel, p. 418.

external enemies, than dissensions arose, and they were divided into many parties, of which the principal were the Calixtins and Taborites. The moderate party, who were called Calixtins*, showed no disposition to make any considerable change in the established religion; and were inclined to be reconciled to their sovereign, and to the pope. Their demands were: 1. That the Scriptures should be freely and plainly preached to the people. 2. That the sacrament should be administered under both kinds, as well to the laity as to the clergy. 3. That the clergy should possess no temporal authority over temporal possessions; and, 4. That in case of enormous crimes, they should, like the laity, be amenable to the civil power. The other party denominated Taborites and Orphans, were more violent and fanatic; they insisted on the total destruction of the papal authority, and the establishment of a new church according to the primitive simplicity of the gospel, which was to be directed by divine impulse.

Sigismond availed himself of this division, and finally succeeded in opposing one party to the other; by inviting the Hussites to send deputies to the council of Basle, for the purpose of effecting an accommodation. This proposition, at first rejected by the influence of the Taborites, was afterwards acceded to by the union of the Calixtins and Catholics. A deputation was accordingly despatched, in 1433, at the head of which was Procopius Rasa†, or the Shaven, leader of the Taborites. After many warm debates, for fifty days, in which Procopius defended his opinions with great force and eloquence, no accommodation was effected, and the deputies returned to Bohemia. This journey did not contribute to unite the two parties, and Æneas Sylvius, who was despatched by the council of Basle to Prague, effected a reconciliation with the Calixtins. Their demands being approved by the council, and confirmed by the pope, with some modifications and restrictions, were read and signed in a numerous meeting of the nobles of the Catholic and Calixtin parties, and are known in Bohemian history by the appellation of the Compactata or Compacts.

* From calix, a cup or chalice.

† He received this appellation, because he had formerly been a monk.

The administration of the sacrament to the laity under both kinds was permitted; but as a salvo for the honour of the Catholics, the priest was to declare at the same time, that the reception of the communion under one kind only was equally effectual.

The Taborites refusing to accede to this agreement, a civil war ensued. Their principal force was then engaged under Procopius Rasa, in the siege of Pilsen, which had been defended by the Catholics ten months; and another body under Procopius the Little, occupied the new town of Prague, whose inhabitants principally adhered to their party. The nobility and states of the Catholic and Calixtin parties, after their reconciliation, levied a considerable army, and invested Alexius Sevihowsky of Wzestiof, governor of the kingdom, with regal authority. The old and little town of Prague received the new governor; but the new town under the command of the younger Procopius, refusing to acknowledge him, the combined troops led by Meinhard of Newhaus, general of the Catholics, carried it by assault, drove out the Taborites, and encamped without the walls. Procopius Rasa, apprised of their success, raised the siege of Pilsen, and marched towards Prague, with a resolution to exterminate the opposite party. He was at the head of a respectable force; all the towns except Prague, Pilsen, and Melnich, favoured his cause, and he conducted the flower of the Taborites, commanded by able generals, and accustomed to victory. The two armies met near Boehmischgrod, in the neighbourhood of Prague; and after an obstinate engagement, the Taborites were totally discomfited, and Procopius himself fell in the conflict. The greater part of the Taborites were slain, and the savage cruelty with which the prisoners were treated, proves the horrible outrages which result from civil and religious discord: numbers were unmercifully slaughtered on the field of battle, many were made slaves, above a thousand driven into barns, and put to death, and scarcely three hundred of the foot escaped the dreadful carnage.

The remnant of the party was speedily reduced. Tabor itself, the focus of their strength, surrendered; and thus, as a native historian observes, "Tranquillity was restored by means of the Bohemians themselves, and the event

proved the truth of the observation made by the emperor Sigismond, that the Bohemians could only be overpowered by Bohemians."

The defeat of the Taborites was followed, in 1435, by the meeting of a general diet, on the convocation of the governor in chief. Sigismond was acknowledged king, on engaging to ratify the compacts; to receive at this court Hussite priests; to compel no one to build monasteries, or admit monks; to confirm the privileges of the nation; to appoint no foreigners to offices of state, and grant a general amnesty. Accompanied by Albert of Austria, he repaired to Iglau, and completed the establishment of a religious peace; both he and the deputies for the council of Basle swore to observe the compacts; and the papal legate, after removing the excommunication which had been laid on the Bohemians, advised them to live in unity, and gave them liberty to take the communion under one or both kinds.

Sigismond repaired to Prague, took possession of the kingdom, and received the homage of his subjects. With a view to conciliate the Hussites, he raised Tabor to the rank of a royal city, distinguished it with various privileges, and granted to the inhabitants religious freedom for five years. By this happy reconciliation, the country was recovered from a state of desolation and anarchy, to peace and tranquillity. But the conduct of Sigismond soon excited troubles in the capital. Urged by his aversion to the new doctrines, he exercised great severity against the Hussites, and, at the suggestion of the papal legate, again attempted to restore the Catholic worship. These arbitrary and impolitic measures offended his friends, and revived the hatred of his subjects; and to prevent the renewal of the former calamities, he reluctantly abandoned his injudicious projects, and ordered a proclamation to be made in all the churches in the German, Bohemian, Latin, and Hungarian languages, declaring that those who maintained the unity of the holy Catholic church, in all its ordinances, articles and clauses, and received the communion under both kinds, were true and first sons of the church, and should not be persecuted by those who took the sacrament under one kind. This decree, which the Calixtins hung up on the walls of their temples, written in golden cha-

racters, again appeased the discontents, and restored tranquillity.

CHAP. XII. 1437—1439.

DURING the Hussite war, Albert acted with equal vigour and prudence; he assisted Sigismond with his counsels, and led his own forces against the insurgents; and while the rest of the German princes were panic struck at the name of the Hussites, Albert at the head of his brave Austrians, was alone successful. During the third expedition of Sigismond, he marched in 1431 with a select body into Bohemia, to join the German army under the direction of cardinal Julian: and when that army shamefully fled on the approach of the Hussites, he turned into Moravia, expelled the Taborites, who, under Procopius the elder, had been joined by the disaffected, and by his firmness and vigilance, preserved that province till the termination of the war.

Grateful for the assistance, and pleased with the talents of his son-in-law, Sigismond distinguished him with various proofs of favour and affection. He gave him the investiture of Lower Bavaria, on the extinction of the male line, in right of his mother Joanna, sister of the last duke, and to secure the grant, at the same time conferred it as a vacant fief of the empire. But this disposition being opposed by the collateral branches of the Bavarian house *, and the states of the empire, Albert withdrew his

* Bavaria was divided into two lines of Upper and Lower Bavaria. Upper Bavaria was governed by the three branches of Ingoldstadt, Munich, and Landshut, while the line of Lower Bavaria was reduced to a single representative, John of Straubingen, who had originally been bishop of Liege. He died in 1425, without issue. After Albert had withdrawn his claims, the territories of Lower Bavaria were equally divided between Louis of Ingoldstadt, Henry of Landshut, and Ernest and William of Munich. The whole territory was afterwards re-united in the descendants of Ernest. In virtue of this investiture conferred on Albert, Maria Theresa claimed Lower Bavaria, in 1777. See chap. 42. — Falkenstein—Papers on the right to the Bavarian Succession in Hertzberg's Recueil.

claims for a sum of money, and the Bavarian princes received the investiture of the contested territory.

Sigismond likewise anxiously directed his views to secure to Albert the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; but he was secretly opposed by his consort, Barbara, daughter of count Cilli, who from her libertine conduct was called the German Messalina, and is described by an Austrian historian, as "one who believed neither God, angel, nor devil; neither hell nor heaven." This abandoned woman was eager to exclude her daughter and son-in-law from the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, that after the death of her husband, who was declining in health, she might convey them as a dower to Uladislaus *, king of Poland, although she was in her sixtieth, and he only in the twenty-third year of his age. Availing herself of the religious dissensions which still subsisted, she paid court to the Hussites, and affected great zeal for their cause, and when she had conciliated the party, opened her schemes to the leading men. She represented Albert as an inveterate enemy of their religion and doctrines; described the king of Poland as zealous in their cause; declared that her interest was sufficient to secure his election in Hungary, and expatiated on the advantages of uniting the three kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, in one person.

To counteract her intrigues, Sigismond departed from Prague, under pretence of a change of air, and proceeding by slow journies to Znaim in Moravia, put her under arrest, and sent for Albert and his daughter from Vienna, in November, 1437. Soon after their arrival, he summoned the principal nobles of Hungary and Bohemia into his presence, and thus addressed them: "Loving friends, you and all my subjects, I am convinced, are satisfied, that since the commencement of my reign, I have employed my utmost exertions to maintain the public tranquillity; and as my end is approaching, I must likewise prove my last conduct to be not inconsistent with my former actions. Anxious for your safety, and for the welfare of my kingdom, I withdrew myself from Prague, under the pretence of recovering

* I have adopted the name of Uladislaus, as he is called by the Polish and German historians, to distinguish him from Ladislaus Posthumus.

my health, to prevent the fatal consequences which might befall you, had I died among a people of suspicious fidelity. At this moment my only anxiety arises from an earnest desire to prevent the dissensions and bloodshed which may overwhelm my kingdoms after my decease. It is praiseworthy in a prince to govern well, but it is not less praiseworthy to provide for his people a successor better than himself; and a king may with confidence commend himself to posterity, when he leaves behind him a successor who will eclipse his actions. This fame I now seek, not from ambition, but from affection towards my subjects. Ye all know Albert duke of Austria, to whom in preference to all other princes I gave my daughter in marriage, and adopted him as my own son. Ye yourselves are sensible that he possesses long experience, and every other virtue becoming a great prince. He found Austria in a state of disorder, and he has restored it to tranquillity; Hungarians, ye have seen him conquer the Turks; Bohemians, ye have experienced his wisdom and valour. He is now of an age in which judgment and experience attain their perfection, and he is sovereign of Austria, which, lying between Hungary and Bohemia, forms a connecting link between the two kingdoms.

"I recommend him to you as my successor; I leave you a king, pious, honourable, wise, and brave. I give him my kingdom, or rather I give him to my kingdoms, to whom I can give or wish nothing better. Truly, ye belong to him, in consideration of his wife, the hereditary princess of Hungary and Bohemia: in the same manner ye, O Hungarians, chose me; and ye, O Bohemians, my grandfather your king. I again repeat that I do not act thus solely from love to Albert and my daughter, but from a desire, in my last moments, to promote the true welfare of my people. Happy are those who are subject to Albert; I am confident he is no less beloved by you than by me, and that even without my exhortations, you would unanimously give him your votes; but I beseech you by these tears, comfort my soul, which is departing to God, by confirming my choice, and fulfilling my will."

His spirits being agitated, and his strength diminished by this effort, he burst into tears, and was scarcely heard

to articulate the last words. All who were present instantly caught hold of his hand, bathed it with their tears, took a solemn oath of allegiance to Albert, and declared that while he lived, they would not acknowledge any other sovereign. Albert and Elizabeth being then introduced, the nobles proclaimed them king and queen, with joyful acclamations. But as the number of Bohemians present was inconsiderable, Sigismond made his testament, appointing Albert his successor, and sent it by his chancellor, count Schlick, to the states of Bohemia. On the next day he expired, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Albert proceeded to Hungary, followed by the funeral procession of the deceased emperor, and by the empress Barbara in custody. The body was interred in Great Waradin, and a diet being summoned at Alba Regia, Albert was unanimously elected king, and inaugurated with Elizabeth in the usual forms, after promising by oath not to accept the imperial diadem. He then liberated his mother-in-law, on the condition of restoring some strong fortresses which she possessed in Hungary, and assigned her a royal jointure.

Meanwhile the chancellor arriving at Prague, exhorted the states to acknowledge Albert, announced the dying request of Sigismond, and expatiated on the obligations of the Bohemians to the house of Luxemburgh. He dwelt on the eminent qualities of Albert, and urged that he was their sovereign, as well in virtue of his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, as by mutual compacts between the kings of Bohemia and the house of Austria, confirmed by the emperors and the states. The proposal was accepted by the Catholics, and Albert acknowledged by the capital and the town of Kuttenberg. The Hussites refused their assent, and held a separate assembly at Tabor, where they published a formal protest against the nomination of Albert. "The election," they said, "ought to be free; we have purchased our liberty with our blood, and will maintain it with our blood. The late emperor violated the compacts, and Albert may follow his example. We prefer a sovereign from Poland, with whom we can converse without an interpreter, and we will not submit to the dominion of the German nation, from which we have already suffered such

cruelty and oppression. The compacts," they concluded, "of the Bohemian sovereigns with the house of Austria, were extorted by force, and are of no avail, because the kings of Bohemia, being elective monarchs, could not confer a right which they did not possess themselves. Albert has already invaded our country with an armed force, and therefore ought to be excluded."

They deputed ambassadors to Uladislaus, king of Poland, requesting him to send his brother Casimir, whom they elected king, and to assist them with a respectable body of troops. Uladislaus accepted their overtures, declared his brother king of Bohemia, and sent, as an earnest of his future intentions, a considerable body of horse, who united with the Hussites encamped in the vicinity of Tabor. Albert crushed all opposition by his vigour and celerity. He repaired without delay to Prague, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, and was crowned in the cathedral; joined by the Catholics, and reinforced by the margrave of Brandenburgh and other princes of the empire, he led an army of 30,000 men against the Hussites and Poles, and besieged Tabor, whither they had retreated. He would have compelled the fortress by famine to surrender, had not George Podiebrad, who first distinguished himself on this occasion, by a successful sally, forced him to raise the siege, and retire to Prague, while Uladislaus made an irruption into Silesia. Notwithstanding this check, the margrave of Brandenburgh drove the king of Poland from Silesia; and the auxiliary Poles, after killing their horses for food, returned to their country on foot. In consequence of this success a congress was held at Breslau, and a truce concluded with Uladislaus; the Hussites agreed to a cessation of arms, and peace was once more restored to Bohemia.

In the midst of these conflicts, Albert was chosen king of the Romans, as a prince who, by his extensive possessions and distinguished talents, was most capable of allaying the dissensions of Germany, and arresting the alarming progress of the Turks. He at first declined the proffered dignity from a regard to his oath, but being liberated from his engagement by the Hungarian states, and absolved by the council of Basle, he yielded to the

exhortations of his relatives and the instances of the electors, and, though never crowned, obtained and deserved a place among the emperors.

In the affairs of Germany, Albert displayed consummate wisdom and address. He reformed many abuses in the administration of justice, laid the courts under due restrictions, and modified the dreadful power of the secret tribunals of Westphalia, which had long disgraced the German jurisprudence.* He also submitted to the diet a proposal to proclaim a public peace, and to suppress the right of private wars, and for this salutary purpose formed the plan of dividing the empire into circles, which was afterwards modified and improved by Maximilian I.

He evinced equal policy in his conduct towards the pope and the council of Basle, whose disputes threatened the peace of Christendom. The great schism in the papal see, which originated from the double election of Gregory XI. and Urban VI., had been terminated by the council of Basle. At that period three popes were acknowledged by different powers of Europe, according to their inclinations or interests; Gregory XII., who had been chosen at Rome; John XXIII., at Bologna; and Benedict XIII., at Avignon. The council of Constance deposed these three pontiffs, and, in 1417, gave to the Christian world a single pope, in one of the most considerable citizens of Rome, Otho Colonna, who assumed the name of Martin V., and to whom the church was indebted for her union, Italy for her tranquillity, and Rome for her recovery from ruin. During a reign of sixteen years, his moderation, prudence, and vigour maintained the church in peace and unity; he even agreed to a reformation of several corruptions; he consented to the abolition of annates, the fees paid for palliums, provisions, and other similar exactions; and a council was summoned at Basle, to carry these reforms into execution. But on the death of Martin, his successor, Eugenius IV., issued a bull dissolving the council of Basle,

* For an account of this singular and terrible system of jurisprudence, see Pfeffinger's Vitriarius illustratus, lib. 4. tit. 4.; also Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 13.; and a letter to the countess of Pembroke, on the secret tribunals of Westphalia.

and convoking another, which first assembled at Ferrara, and afterwards at Florence, and acted in opposition to that of Basle.

This measure occasioned a dispute between the council of Basle and the pope. In 1436, the council summoned Eugenius to appear, and threatened to punish his refusal with deposition; it also commenced the work of reformation, abolished the annates and charges paid for palliums, forbade simony under the severest penalties, and made many regulations for the election and duties of a pope, the number of cardinals, the abolition of the papal reservations, and the union of the Greek and Latin churches.* But as Eugenius opened the council at Ferrara, in contempt of their summons, and by his own authority negotiated an union between the two churches, with the Greek emperor John Palæologus, the fathers at Basle deposed him, and in 1438, elected Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who had acquired great reputation for sanctity for his retreat to the hermitage of Ripaille.† He assumed the name of Felix V., and

* The schism between the Greek and Latin churches took place in the ninth century, in regard to different points of doctrine. Broughton, in his Dictionary of Religion, art. Church, has enumerated thirty-one of these points, of which the principal were, the Greeks denied the supremacy of the pope; disbelieved purgatory; rejected the use of graven images; did not worship the eucharist; used unleavened bread in the sacrament; and asserted that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father alone.

† At this period the house of Savoy, by the efforts and address of a succession of princes, equally great in arms and peace, had increased in power and splendour, and by the death of Louis, last prince of the line of Piedmont, the whole territories of the family were united under Amadeus VIII. He was master of Piedmont and Savoy, with their dependencies, sovereign of the Pays de Vaud and Geneva, lord of Nice and Vintimiglia, Bresse, and Bugei.

Amadeus, who was surnamed the Pacific, was the most consummate politician of the age. He gave the first check to the aspiring greatness of the dukes of Milan, who had hitherto obtained and exercised an unrivalled ascendency in the north of Italy; after various conflicts, he compelled Philip Maria Visconti to sue for peace, and by the treaty of Turin, in 1427, secured the country of Vercelli. Under his reign, Savoy was erected by the emperor Sigismond into a duchy, and such was the general opinion entertained of his wisdom and political talents, that few negotiations were carried on between the European powers, in which he was not either consulted or concerned.

After a reign of eighteen years, the sudden death of a beloved wife,

thus a new schism arose, not only between the two popes, but between the two councils, who excommunicated and anathematised each other.

Both popes and both councils endeavoured to gain the emperor of Germany. Albert acted with his usual prudence; he publicly adopted the regulations for reforming the church, which had been passed at Basle, by a deed, under the title of concordates of the German nation; in other respects he maintained an exact neutrality, and rejected all the offers which both parties prodigally lavished to gain his protection; and by these wise measures preserved Germany and his dominions from the religious disturbances which agitated those nations who interfered in the contest.

Albert, having thus regulated the affairs of Germany and pacified Bohemia, turned his attention to the defence of Hungary, which was threatened with invasion by a barbarous people, differing widely in religion and manners from the Christian world, who had emerged from the wilds of Asia, and marked their progress by rapine, desolation, and carnage.

The Turks, originally derived from a small tribe inhabiting the country between the Caspian and the Euxine, afterwards spread to the east of the Caspian, and gave their name to the province of Turcomania. They were conquered by the Saracens, who [for a time] rendered them tributary, introduced among them the laws and religion of Mahomet, and with those laws and that religion infused their own spirit of intolerance, intrepidity, and fanaticism. The Turcoman hordes rapidly increasing in numbers and power, finally subjugated their conquerors, and under the

and a narrow escape from assassination, inspired him with such disgust for the world, that he resigned, in 1434, his throne to his eldest son, Louis, and, accompanied by a few lords of his court, retired to La Ripaille, on the borders of the Lake of Geneva. Here he acquired such a reputation for sanctity, that he was generally called the Hermit of La Ripaille; but subsequent ages have questioned this reputation; and have considered La Ripaille rather as the seat of luxury, than as a retreat for religious austerity. The expression, "La chère de la Ripaille," has become proverbial for delicious fare.

For an account of this singular and equivocal character, and the events of his reign, see Guichenon; Muratori; Denina.

domination of the Seleucian dynasty, extended their dominion over the south-western part of Asia, from the Caucasus to Arabia, and from the Mediterranean and Hellespont almost to the banks of the Indus. This empire was at length divided into different states and principalities, of which Persia was the chief. Among the other kingdoms, that of Asia Minor is most distinguished in history, the capital of which was fixed at Nice in Bythinia, not a hundred miles from Constantinople, till the first crusade; when the Greek emperor having recovered the greater part of Asia Minor, drove the Turks from Mount Olympus, and the sultans removed their residence to Iconium, an inland town of Karamania.

The decline of this empire gave rise to the new dynasty of Ottomans or Turks. Othman, an emir or chieftain in the service of the last sultan of Iconium, distinguished himself at an early period by his predatory incursions against the Christians. Acquiring new courage, and an accession of followers, from his success, he forced the passes of Mount Olympus, invaded the Greek empire, which was declining under the weak reign of Andronicus II., conquered a part of Bythinia, and fixed his residence at Prusa, near the ancient capital of the Seleucides.

His son and successor, Orcan, who assumed the title of Sultan, rapidly increased his dominions; and by the formation of a standing force, which was afterwards distinguished under the denomination of Janissaries, was enabled to capture the city of Nice, and extend his conquests to the shores of the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Nor were his arms confined to Asia; he availed himself of the disorders which agitated the Greek empire, and in 1358, crossing the Hellespont, founded the first Turkish establishment in Europe by the capture of Gallipoli.

Amurath, son and successor of Orcan, subdued the country as far as Mount Hæmus, and, in 1362, transferred the residence of the Ottoman court to Adrianople. He thus surrounded the capital of the Greeks, both in Asia and Europe, and rendered the emperor John Palæologus, and his sons, the tributaries and even attendants of his camp and court. Pursuing his progress in the west, he advanced against the Bulgarians, Servians, and Bosnians, who were

dependents of the crown of Hungary. The hardy and warlike natives uniting against his arms, a battle was fought in the plains of Cossova, in 1389. Amurath gained a complete victory, but was killed after the engagement by a wounded Servian, who started from among the dead, and plunged a dagger in his breast as he surveyed the field, and triumphantly exulted in his success.

The conquests and prowess of the preceding Ottoman chiefs were eclipsed by the achievements of Bajazet, surnamed the Thunderbolt, from the fire of his character and the rapidity of his conquests. In Asia he subjected those parts of Anatolia which had not submitted to the Ottoman sway, reduced the emirs of Karamania, and comprehended in his dominions Iconium, the former residence of the Seleucides. On the side of Europe, he overran Macedonia and Thessaly, and penetrated into the Peloponnesus; he likewise established his domination over the natives of Bulgaria and Bosnia, and crossed the Danube to carry his arms into Wallachia. He formed a communication between his European and Asiatic territories, by stationing a powerful fleet at Gallipoli, to command the Hellespont, and he prepared to annihilate the last remnant of the Greek empire, by the capture of Constantinople.

The progress of the Turks now began to rouse the European powers from their apathy, and they listened to the urgent solicitations of the Greek emperor Manuel, who had hitherto supplicated for assistance in vain. Sigismond, alarmed for the safety of Hungary, was among the foremost to resist the torrent of Turkish invasion, and exerted his influence and power to form a crusade, which might retrieve the honour of the Christian name, and expel the infidels from Europe. The flower of the European nobility flocked to his standard, an army of one hundred thousand men was collected, and the republics of Venice and Genoa united to supply a fleet. With this force Sigismond crossed the Danube, and advanced towards Constantinople, but was opposed by the sultan himself, in the vicinity of Nicopolis. He was defeated no less from the blind presumption and impetuosity of his own troops, than from the skill of Bajazet and the valour of the Turks: the principal nobility, among whom were John, son of the duke of Burgundy,

and the celebrated Enguerrand de Coucy, were made prisoners; and the greater part of the troops were slain in the battle, driven into the Danube, or put to death by the orders of the sultan, for refusing to abjure their faith. Sigismond escaped with difficulty from the carnage, and, throwing himself into a small boat, descended the Danube into the Euxine; being taken up by the Venetian fleet, he was conveyed to Constantinople, and from thence, by a long circuit, again reached Hungary.

Bajazet instantly sent a considerable force into Wallachia, and resumed the siege of Constantinople. He consented, indeed, to a truce of ten years, which the Greek emperor purchased by an annual tribute, and by assigning a street in the capital to the residence of the Turks; but the respite was of short duration, for he soon broke his engagement, and again invested the capital: and to use the emphatic words of the historian of the Roman empire, "the savage would have devoured his prey in the fatal moment, if he had not been overthrown by another savage stronger than himself." *

This antagonist was Timour or Tamerlane, chief of a Mongol horde, who, from an origin as obscure as that of the Ottoman family, had advanced with still more hasty strides to power and dominion. He was born in the village of Sebsa, not far from Samarcand, and succeeded to the feudal territory of Cush, and the command of ten thousand horse. After distinguishing his youth in arms, he first subjected or conciliated the neighbouring hordes, and then with wonderful rapidity extended his conquests over Persia and India, Turcomania, and those vast regions which are comprised under the indefinite name of Tartary.

Ambition, rivalry, and the opposition of jarring interests, at length urged him to turn his arms against the tyrant of the west. In the sixty-fourth year of his age he quitted his distant capital Samarcand, and at the head of his numerous but well disciplined forces, overspread in his route Georgia and Syria, and burst into the plains of Anatolia. Bajazet had time to prepare against the threatened invasion; he quitted the siege of Constantinople, assembled his forces, and marching against the Mongols, who were

* Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 460. 8vo.

employed in the siege of Angora, risked, in 1402, that memorable battle, which terminated in his defeat and capture.

Fortunately for Europe, the alarming progress of the Mongol conqueror was arrested by the want of vessels to transport his numerous host across the Hellespont. The Greeks and Turks, forgetting their animosities, resisted all his threats and promises, refused to supply him with ships, and united in guarding the passage of the strait. The conqueror of Asia was at length conciliated by tributary gifts and suppliant embassies: two of the sons of Bajazet implored his clemency, and received from him, one the investiture of Romelia, the other, of the territories in Anatolia; and the Greek emperor consented to pay the same tribute which he had paid to Bajazet, and even bound himself by an oath of allegiance. Tamerlane, therefore, abandoned his meditated conquest of Europe, to undertake an expedition against China. He completed in his progress the subjugation of Georgia; passed the winter on the banks of the Araxes, and, after an absence of five years, made his triumphant entry into Samarcand, loaded with the tribute of the Greek, and the spoils of the Turkish empire.* The defeat, captivity, and decease of Bajazet†, who died during the march of his conqueror, suspended the fall of Constantinople, and nearly overwhelmed the Ottoman throne. Many of the emirs of Anatolia recovered their possessions and independence; and the remnant of the Asiatic and European provinces was divided. Two of Bajazet's sons fell in the struggle for the possession of their paternal territories; and the Turkish empire did not recover its splendour and strength till it was re-united under his grandson, Amurath II., in 1421.

The schisms of the church, and the German empire, the wars in Hungary, the contest between Sigismond and the Venetians for the possession of Dalmatia, and the feeble and convulsed state of the Greeks, prevented the

* This wonderful man, at the age of seventy, commenced his expedition against China, and died during his march in the neighbourhood of Otra, April, 1405.

† Koch and other authors have called in question the story of his confinement in an iron cage: but Gibbon seems with reason to believe the fact.

Christian princes from taking advantage of these dissensions; and Amurath was no sooner firmly seated on the throne, than resuming the projects of Bajazet, he laid siege to Constantinople. His efforts were baffled by the spirited resistance of the inhabitants: and he was at length diverted from his purpose by a rebellion in his Asiatic provinces, which was headed by his brother Mustapha. After quelling this revolt, and putting his brother to death, he purposed to resume the siege: but his attention was again occupied by a host of enemies, whom his increasing power and spirit of domination had excited; he was at one time engaged against the princes of Karamania; at another, against the celebrated George Castriott or Scanderburgh, who raised the standard of revolt in Albania, and above all, against the Hungarians, who saw with a jealous eye his acquisitions on the side of the Danube. Notwithstanding this host of enemies, he made himself master of Smyrna, captured Thessalonica from the Venetians, and subjugated the greater part of Greece; he also devastated Transylvania, and rendered the prince of Wallachia tributary. He extorted from George, despot of Servia, an engagement to exclude the Hungarians from his dominions, and to allow a free passage to the Turks; and as a security for its fulfilment, received the daughter of the despot in marriage, and one of his sons as an hostage. But this forced alliance did not unite two princes so discordant in their characters, interests, and religion. George intrigued with the enemies of his son-in-law, and purchased the protection of Sigismond by the cession of Belgrade; while Amurath made preparations for the subjugation of Servia, and the reduction of Belgrade, with a view to carry his arms into Hungary.

On the death of Sigismond, Amurath, expecting that the contests for the crown of Hungary would occasion new troubles, burst into Servia, and laid siege to Semendria; and the despot, leaving the defence of the place to his son, appealed for assistance to Albert, who had recently ascended the throne. Albert, hastening to Buda, exerted all his influence and authority to collect an army, and though feebly supported by the nobles, marched at the head of an inconsiderable force, and pitched his camp between the

Teiss and the Danube, where he had the mortification to witness the capture of Semendria, and the massacre of the garrison. The reduction of this important fortress, and the surrender of Sophia, spread terror and dismay among the Hungarians, who beheld the formidable enemy of the Christian name threatening their frontiers, and preparing to cross the Danube. Roused at length by their perilous situation, and inflamed by the reproaches of Albert, they flocked in crowds to the royal standard: multitudes, however, were swept away by the ravages of a dysentery, and the same distemper breaking out in the Turkish camp, compelled Amurath to retreat. Albert himself, being seized with the malady, which had proved so fatal to both armies, quitted the unwholesome marshes of the Bannat, and took his departure for Vienna. On his arrival at Buda, he was so weak that his physicians recommended him to postpone his journey; but he rejected their advice, from the hopes of reaching Austria, and repeatedly exclaimed, "I shall recover if I can only once more behold the walls of Vienna." He accordingly proceeded to a small island in the Danube, where he aggravated his disorder by eating melons. Here, perceiving his death inevitable, he received the sacrament, and made his will; but pursued his journey in a litter, from an earnest desire to breathe his last in the arms of his wife, whom he had left pregnant. His strength however being exhausted, he died at a small village in the diocese of Gran, on the 17th of October, 1439, in the second year of his reign, and the forty-third of his age.

This great and amiable monarch was tall in stature, strong limbed, and remarkable for his majestic deportment, and the exact symmetry of his person. He was plain in his apparel, affable in his manners, and easy of access. From the darkness of his complexion, and the serious cast of his countenance, he was denominated the Grave, and he obtained the epithet of the Magnanimous, from the splendour of his actions and the grandeur of his mind.

His death was an unfortunate event to his subjects, to Germany, and to Europe. To his subjects, because it again let loose the spirit of discord and anarchy; to Germany, because that empire, beginning to emerge into order and tranquillity, was again plunged into all the horrors of feu-

dal warfare; and to Europe, because his power and military talents might have protracted the fall of Constantinople, and checked the alarming progress of the Ottoman arms.

Albert left two daughters; Anne, married to William duke of Saxony; and Elizabeth, who espoused Casimir, prince, and afterwards king, of Poland.

CH. XIII.—LADISLAUS POSTHUMUS.—1439-1458.

As the queen of Albert was pregnant, great difficulties arose concerning the succession to his dominions; because Austria being a male fief, could only be inherited by males, and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia being elective, were at the disposal of the states.

The widow of Albert, therefore, requested the states of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia to defer the acknowledgment of a successor till her delivery. The states of Austria acceded to the proposal, and declared that, on the birth of a son, the guardianship of Austria should be vested in Frederic, duke of Styria*, as the presumptive head of the house; but should the queen be delivered of a princess, the duchy was to devolve, according to ancient custom, on Frederic, his brother Albert, and their cousin Sigismond, the only three remaining princes of the Austrian family.

In Bohemia, after a slight opposition from the Calixtins, who were desirous to introduce the prince of Poland, the deputies of both parties met at Prague, and consented to wait the delivery of the queen. In Hungary, the nobles, dreading a long minority, compelled Elizabeth to offer her hand, with the crown, to Uladislaus, king of Poland, on the condition that her issue by him should succeed to the throne of Hungary; and stipulated to assist the child of which she was pregnant, should it prove a son, in obtaining Austria and Bohemia.

The ambassadors sent with these proposals to Uladislaus had scarcely quitted the frontiers of Hungary before Eliza-

* Son of Ernest, and afterwards Emperor; see chap. xv.

beth was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Ladislaus, and distinguished by the epithet of Posthumus, from the circumstances of his birth. In consequence of this event, Elizabeth, averse to a marriage with the Polish monarch, and anxious to secure the crown of Hungary for her infant son, despatched orders to the embassadors, revoking their commission; but these orders arrived too late; Uladislaus had already accepted their offers, and was preparing to enter Hungary with a considerable army. By this event Hungary was divided into two parties; one, headed by the celebrated general and antagonist of the Turks, John Hunniades*, surnamed Corvinus, warmly supported the cause of Uladislaus, as a monarch in the prime of age, eminent for valour and military skill, and by his power capable of repelling the invasions of the Turks; the other, headed by Ulric, count of Cilli, and John of Giskra, a Bohemian noble greatly distinguished in arms, was joined by the metropolitan archbishop of Gran, several bishops, and a numerous body of nobles, who were either mindful of the talents of Albert, or touched by the tender age of the orphan prince, and the sex of the widowed queen. Accordingly, in May 1440, Elizabeth conveyed

* The origin of this distinguished warrior is veiled in obscurity; according to Pray, the annalist of Hungary, he was of a noble family of Transylvania; others gave him a Wallachian father and a Greek mother; and the flattery of subsequent times derived the descent of his father from the Roman family of Corvinus, and that of his mother from the Byzantine emperors. Whatever was his ancestry, he owed his elevation solely to his own talents: we first find him a leader of twelve horsemen, in the pay of the bishop of Zagrab; he followed his sovereign, the emperor Sigismond, into Italy, and afterwards served in the army of Philip Maria Visconti. On his return to Hungary, he seems to have received from Sigismond the small estate of Hunniad, on the frontiers of Transylvania and Wallachia, and afterwards served a campaign under the Hungarian prefect of Halle, as a centurion or captain. He increased his possessions by espousing a lady of a wealthy and illustrious family, and his talents and bravery becoming more and more conspicuous, he gradually rose to the situation of commander-in-chief. His civil virtues were not inferior to his military talents, and he was remarkable no less for the comeliness of his person and the beauty of his countenance, than for his bodily strength and activity. He received the surname of Corvinus from the small village of Corvinum, where he was born, and that of Hunniades, from the castle which he built on the territory assigned him by Sigismond.

the young prince to Alba Regia, where he was crowned by the archbishop of Gran in his fourth month, on the bosom of his mother. Her partisans, irritated by the haste with which the proposals had been carried to Uladislaus, imprisoned some of the ambassadors, and, assisted by the Croatians, Dalmatians, and a body of Austrians, prepared to assert the rights of their infant king. Notwithstanding these reinforcements, the adherents of Elizabeth were not sufficiently powerful to resist the united forces of the Poles, and the majority of the Hungarian nation, directed by the military skill of Hunniades, and supported by the despots of Bosnia and Servia. After making a formidable resistance under the conduct of the intrepid Giskra, they retained possession of Upper Hungary, and abandoned Lower Hungary to the partisans of Uladislaus. The widowed queen retired to Vienna, placed her son under the care of Frederic duke of Styria, and mortgaged to him the city of Œdinburg, and the crown of St. Stephen, which the Hungarians, with a superstitious reverence, considered as necessary to establish the validity of the regal title.

Meanwhile Uladislaus, entering the kingdom in triumph, was inaugurated at Alba Regia, with a crown taken from the statue of St. Stephen. But the party of Elizabeth being still powerful, and an invasion threatened by the Turks, an accommodation was effected by pope Eugenius IV., through the means of the legate, cardinal Julian. Uladislaus was to be regent of Hungary during the minority of the young king, and to succeed him should he die without issue male; he was also to espouse Anne, the elder daughter of Albert, and his brother Casimir Elizabeth the younger. The execution of this agreement was prevented by the decease of Elizabeth, who died at Raab on the 24th of December, 1442, not without suspicions of poison, and Uladislaus assumed the title and authority of king. Frederic, as guardian to the infant Ladislaus, armed in support of his claims, detached many of the Hungarian nobles from the Polish party, obtained possession of the district of Raab, and the civil war was renewed with increasing fury. At length, being embarrassed by dissensions in his own dominions, or feebly supported by the Austrian partisans, and Uladislaus being threatened with

an invasion by the Turks, both parties inclined to peace, and concluded a truce for three years. Uladislaus then turned his arms against the Turks, and, by a series of splendid successes acquiring popularity, established himself firmly on the throne.

While Ladislaus Posthumus was excluded from the throne of Hungary, he experienced a more favourable fortune in Bohemia.

Soon after her delivery, Elizabeth, at the suggestions of the Catholic party, had despatched a messenger to the diet at Prague, claiming the crown for her infant son. Her views were, however, warmly opposed by the Calixtins, headed by Henry Praczeck, of Lippa, who exclaimed, "A child cannot govern a kingdom. It will be long before Ladislaus Posthumus will be capable of assuming the reins of government. Let us, therefore, in the meantime, choose another sovereign, who can defend the country; and when Ladislaus has attained the age of twenty-four, we shall see whether he deserves the crown." This advice was adopted, and a committee of sixteen persons appointed to elect a king. Their choice fell upon Albert duke of Bavaria, but that prince nobly declined a dignity which belonged to Ladislaus. The states then nominated the emperor Frederic, and requested him, if he would not accept the crown, at least to assume the regency during the minority of the young king. Frederic, with the same magnanimity as Albert, replied, "I will not rob my relation of his right." Conscious also of the turbulent spirit of the Bohemians, he even declined the regency, recommended the states to intrust the administration of affairs to the most illustrious of their countrymen, and promised to superintend the education of the young prince. In consequence of this advice, the Bohemians chose Ladislaus, and appointed two regents, Praczeck, as the head of the Calixtins, and Meinhard of Neuhaus, as chief of the Catholics. This arrangement was of short duration; the two regents differing equally in religious and civil matters, the country became a scene of anarchy and discord. The Calixtins, with a view to overthrow their opponents, even offered, in 1442, the government to the empress Barbara, who was devoted to their party, and she repaired to Melnich; but

her demands, being too exorbitant, were rejected by the diet, through the influence of the Catholic party.

At length, after an arduous struggle for power, the Calixtins prevailed; Meinhard was driven from the regency, and the sole administration consigned to Praczeck. His death, which happened in 1444, again revived the hopes of the Catholics, who exerted their utmost efforts to raise Meinhard to the regency; but after another contest, the superior influence of the Calixtins placed the celebrated George Podiebrad at the head of the government.

The moderate persons of both parties, however, wearied by these divisions, anxiously desired the presence of the young monarch, and frequent deputations were sent to Frederic, earnestly requesting that they might be gratified with the residence of their sovereign, and urging him to accept the regency, and reside at Prague. These repeated demands being rejected, George Podiebrad attempted to rouse the resentment of the nation, and proposed a new election, hoping to secure the crown to himself. Having summoned a diet at Pilgram in 1447, it was asked, "Is it advantageous to the kingdom that Ladislaus should retain the crown, or would it not be more beneficial to choose a monarch acquainted with our language and customs, and inspired with the love of our country?" But this artful proposition was warmly opposed by the Catholics, and finally defeated by the influence of Meinhard.

The contest between Podiebrad and Meinhard occasioned civil commotions, and threatened the renewal of the Hussite war; nor were peace and order restored till the Calixtins gained the ascendency. After various conflicts, Meinhard was defeated and imprisoned in 1450; Podiebrad subdued the refractory citizens of Prague, removed the counsellors, priests, and professors who had been appointed by Albert, and assumed an almost regal authority.

During these transactions in Bohemia, Hungary exhibited nearly a similar scene. The death of Uladislaus, who was killed at the battle of Warna against the Turks, having again rendered the throne vacant, the diet acknowledged Ladislaus Posthumus in 1444, and, like the Bohemians, demanded their young sovereign and the crown of St. Stephen. Their request being rejected by Frederic, they

nominated as regent John Hunniades, who supported the administration with equal prudence and vigour, repressed the turbulent spirit of the nobles, and saved Hungary from the irruptions of the Ottoman arms. In his conflicts with the enemy of the christian name, however, he experienced a series of alternate victories and defeats. After the battle of Cossova, in 1448, he escaped with difficulty from the field, and in his flight was taken prisoner by two Turks. He owed his deliverance to his presence of mind and the strength of his arm: while the captors were disputing for the possession of a gold cross which he wore round his neck, he seized the sabre of one, and felled them both to the ground. After wandering about in the woods, and falling into the power of George, despot of Raseia, he obtained his liberty, and returned to support his country, distracted with internal commotions, and exposed to foreign enemies.

The Austrians were no less anxious for the presence of their sovereign than the Hungarians and Bohemians; and were equally dissatisfied with the conduct of Frederic, who detained the young prince at Neustadt, and would not permit him to visit his capital.

Such was the situation and wishes of the three countries when Frederic proceeded to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the pope, with Ladislaus in his suite. Here the young monarch distinguished himself by delivering a Latin oration before the consistory; he excited general admiration by the quickness of his comprehension, and his proficiency in literature; and received from the emperor the order of knighthood, on the bridge of the Tiber. On the departure of Frederic for Naples, he was left under the care of the pope and Æneas Sylvius; deputies from the three nations, who had repaired to Italy to solicit his release, prevailed on him to attempt his escape; but the plan being discovered, was prevented by the pope.

Foiled in their hopes, and irritated by repeated disappointments, the principal nobles of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, united to rescue their young sovereign from the hands of his guardian. Having matured their plan, they made a final application to Frederic on his return from Italy. Their demand being again refused, Ulric Eytzinger,

an Austrian, to whom the conduct of the enterprise was intrusted, with an army of 16,000 men, laid siege to Neustadt. Frederic, unable to resist, was compelled to resign his ward, and in 1452, Ladislaus was consigned to the care of his maternal uncle, the count of Cilli, till a meeting of the deputies from the three nations could be convoked to settle the plan of their respective governments. Ladislaus repaired to Vienna, amidst the acclamations of his subjects; and the deputies of the three nations soon afterwards assembled in the presence of the chief princes and prelates of the empire. In this assembly it was settled that the king should remain under the guardianship of the count of Cilli, and, during his minority, the government of Hungary was to be administered by John Hunniades, of Bohemia by George Podiebrad, Austria by the count of Cilli, and the emperor was to be reimbursed for the expenses of his education. In the commencement of the year count Cilli conducted his charge to Presburgh, to receive the homage of his Hungarian subjects; and Ladislaus conferred on Hunniades the county of Bistritz in Transylvania, with other marks of favour, and confirmed him in the administration of affairs.

Ladislaus was only thirteen when he was thus emancipated from the guardianship of Frederic. Under the care of count Schlick, the celebrated chancellor of Austria, his governor, and Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., his preceptor, he received a refined and learned education, more proper for a professor than for a king who was destined to govern such turbulent subjects as the people of Hungary and Bohemia. His court soon became the scenes of disputes and contests for power. The count of Cilli had succeeded in gaining his confidence, and employed his influence to remove Eytzinger, and the Austrian nobility, from all offices of importance, and replace them with his own creatures. To secure his authority, he endeavoured to inspire his young master with suspicions of the nobility, and infused into his mind a jealousy of the two regents of Hungary and Bohemia, whom he accused of aspiring to regal power. The removal of the Austrian nobles occasioned great discontents; and when the states assembled at Neustadt to grant a sum of money

for the journey of the king to Bohemia, Eytzinger formed a secret and powerful confederacy against Cilli. The grant was readily made; but Eytzinger, in a private audience, remonstrated against the peculation and arrogance of the favourite, displayed the discontents of the nation, and by threatening to withhold the promised grant, extorted the consent of the young monarch to his dismission. On the return, therefore, of the court to Vienna, Eytzinger collected a thousand men, and at an early hour of the morning obtained an interview with the king. Cilli, hearing of his arrival, hurried alone to the palace, and on being admitted into the royal presence, was told by Eytzinger that the king commanded him to withdraw from court; he remonstrated against the order, and appealed to the young monarch, who stood silent and confounded. "I have done nothing," exclaimed Eytzinger, "without the consent of the king, and I request your majesty to confirm my assertion." Ladislaus sullenly gave his sanction in a few words; the count retired from Vienna, amidst the insults and threats of the populace, and his life was only preserved by the interference of Albert of Brandenburgh, who accompanied him to the gate of the city. Eytzinger having thus secured the supreme authority, placed the regency of Austria in the hands of a select number of his adherents, and accompanied the king to Bohemia.

During these transactions, George Podiebrad had convoked a general diet, and digested the coronation oaths, which, with a few trifling additions, confirmed the compacts and privileges acceded to by Sigismond and Albert. Ladislaus was met at Iglau by Podiebrad, and a large concourse of nobles, and repairing to Prague, was crowned on the 28th of October, 1453, by the cardinal archbishop of Gran. He continued a year in Bohemia, and was wholly guided by the advice of Podiebrad; but his religious opinions were too deeply impressed to be easily eradicated, even from so youthful a mind, and contributed to alienate the powerful party of the Calixtins; for while he treated the Catholics with respect and affection, he displayed the strongest aversion to the Calixtins; he would not enter their churches, and even quitted the mass when celebrated by a priest of their communion. He also refused the re-

quest of the regent to make some concessions in affairs of religion, declaring, that in civil concerns he would abide by the institutions of Sigismond and Albert, but in regard to religion, would submit himself to the decisions of the pope.

In his return, he visited Lusatia and Silesia, to receive the homage of those provinces, and escorted by Podiebrad, whom he had confirmed in the regency, arrived at Vienna. Finding the government of Eytzinger become unpopular, he seized the opportunity to dismiss so obnoxious a subject, and recalled his favourite, the count of Cilli.

At this juncture a solemn deputation from Hungary requested his presence, to allay the discontents of the nation, by assuming the reins of government. Cilli, who was apprehensive of a new disgrace, dissuaded the king from the journey: he represented Hunniades as all powerful, master of the principal fortresses, too ambitious to submit to a superior, or to bear an equal; and accused him of having long directed his views to wrest the crown from his lawful sovereign. Influenced by this insidious advice, the king listened to the suggestions of his favourite, and with a view to seize the person of Hunniades, summoned him to Vienna. The regent declined complying with the summons; but declared that he was ready to obey the king in Hungary, where his duty required his presence. Another attempt being equally fruitless, Hunniades was at length persuaded by the entreaties of the nobles to repair to Vienna, under the security of a safe conduct; and on his approach to the capital, met a nobleman of distinction sent by Cilli to inform him that the king was on the road. Observing, however, no attendants, or other tokens of the sovereign's approach, and receiving no safe conduct, he suspected treachery, and retired to a neighbouring town. He was then joined by Cilli, with the information, that the king, fatigued by the heat of the weather, had retired to the vineyards expecting his arrival, and would himself give him the safe conduct. Hunniades appealed to a noble who was present, and by his answer being confirmed in his suspicions, bitterly reproached Cilli for his perfidy, threatened him with instant death if he again appeared in his presence, and retired indignantly to Hungary.

At length, however, a reconciliation was effected between the king and the regent, by the mediation of some Hungarian nobles; Hunniades surrendered several fortresses, and sent his son Matthias to be educated at Vienna. Soon after this accommodation, the king, accompanied by Cilli, repaired to Buda, where he treated Hunniades with marks of respect and confidence; and even mediated an apparent reconciliation between him and the count. This reconciliation was necessary, as the kingdom was threatened with a more imminent danger than it had ever before experienced, from the fall of the Greek empire, and the increasing ascendency of the Turks.

Since the fatal battle of Warna, the Greek empire had rapidly hastened to its fall. Discords reigned in the imperial family, and factions in the capital, and the people were divided by frivolous disputes on fanciful points of religious belief. The stupendous progress of the Ottoman arms, and the sense of impending danger, had induced several of the emperors to supplicate assistance from the different courts of Europe, and to obtain the intervention of the pope, by proposing an union between the Greek and Latin churches. Among these, the emperor John Palæologus, accompanied by the patriarch and by a numerous suite of clergy, had repaired to Italy during the schism of the papal see, and the contests between the councils of Constance and Basle; and after some difficulty, and many concessions, concluded the articles of an union with Eugenius. But this journey was of little avail; the principal members of the Latin church were averse to an accommodation with the Greeks, and only a few days before the signature of the articles Eugenius himself was deposed by the council of Basle. The emperor was disappointed in his hopes of assistance; and on returning to his capital, was derided by his subjects, who stigmatised the pretended union as heretical, ridiculed the schisms in the Latin church, and declared that they would rather behold at Constantinople the turban of the sultan, than the tiara of the pope.

John, dying in 1448, his tottering throne was disputed by his brothers, and at length filled by Constantine, the last of the Greek dynasty. He did not long enjoy his

new dignity, for Mahomet II., who ascended the throne on the death of his father Amurath, directed all his power and resources to make himself master of Constantinople, and commenced his hostile operations by building a fortress within five miles of the capital, to command the narrow pass of the Bosphorus. Constantine, the first in spirit as in rank, would have drawn the sword to resist this aggression; but was dissuaded by his weak and pusillanimous ministers. His forbearance, however, was of no avail, for at the commencement of the ensuing year a Turkish army assembled under the eye of the sultan, and invested the capital itself. Though feebly supported by his subjects, Constantine collected a band of 9,000 men, and defended the last remnant of his empire, with a spirit worthy of a better fate. All his efforts were baffled by the perseverance of the sultan, and the superior numbers and fanatic courage of the Turkish host; after a siege of fifty-three days, the city was stormed on the 29th of May, 1453; Constantine himself fell in the breach; and with him were buried the throne of the Greeks, the name of the Cæsars, and the glory of the Roman empire.

The victorious sultan having established his residence at Constantinople, and consolidated his vast power in the eastern part of his dominions, directed his views to the west, and meditated the conquest of Hungary, the bulwark of Europe. After subjugating Albania, and expelling the intrepid Scanderberg, he burst into Servia, advanced to the banks of the Danube, and invested Semendria. Being compelled to raise the siege by the approach of Hunniades, he left 30,000 men, with orders not to risk an engagement, and hastened to Bulgaria to collect reinforcements; but Hunniades availing himself of the sultan's absence, surprised and forced the Turkish camp in the night, took the commander prisoner, and returned in triumph to Belgrade.

Stung with disappointment, and exasperated by the disgrace of his arms, Mahomet the next year collected 200,000 men, and, meeting with no resistance, laid siege to the important fortress of Belgrade; the whole force of Hungary shrunk before this tremendous host, and messengers were despatched to solicit assistance from the

princes of Europe. Assistance, however, would have been solicited in vain, had not John Capistran, a Franciscan monk, passed from town to town, and village to village, throughout Germany, and by his zeal and eloquence, collected a body of 40,000 men under the standard of the cross.

The young king and his favourite secretly fled to Vienna from the impending danger, and the eyes of all Europe were fixed on the brave Hunniades. Unable to collect an efficient force from the turbulent nobles of Hungary, his principal reliance was placed on the rabble, assembled by Capistran, who are described by the papal legate "as the dregs of the people, rustics, priests, scholars, monastic students, hermits and mendicant brethren of different orders; without arms, except swords, slings, staves, and clubs, and without horses, except for the conveyance of provisions." The experienced chief was able to reduce this heterogeneous mass to order and discipline, while Capistran infused into them a spirit of enterprise and religious enthusiasm. Hunniades, putting himself at the head of these crusaders and a corps of Hungarians, hastened to the defence of Belgrade, which was reduced to the last extremity; the garrison feeble and sickly, were harassed by repeated attacks, and worn out with continual watchings; the walls were dilapidated by the incessant fire of the Turkish ordnance; and a flotilla, riding triumphant on the Danube and the Save, precluded all hopes of relief, and intercepted all supplies of provisions. In this desperate situation, Hunniades collected a considerable number of barks, descended the Danube, flanked on each side by squadrons of horse on the banks, and attacked the Turkish flotilla which advanced to oppose him. He himself led one division, and grappling with the enemy, was the first who boarded the admiral's galley; the other division was headed by Capistran, who, standing on the prow of the foremost vessel, held up the crucifix, and animated his followers by promising the assistance of Heaven, and pouring forth maledictions on the heads of the infidels. Roused by the heroism of Hunniades, and the eloquence of Capistran, the prowess of the crusaders was irresistible; they sunk, dispersed, or captured the

Turkish flotilla, and opened a passage to the walls of Belgrade. The presence of the chief, and the exhortations of the monk, preserved the fortress; the sick and wounded were removed, the breaches repaired, and the navigation of the Danube and the Save being secured, the garrison was encouraged by reinforcements and supplied with provisions. The perseverance of the Turks, however, was equal to the resistance of the besiegers. Mahomet ordered a general assault, and his troops, animated by his presence and example, burst into the town. The banners of the crescent already floated on the ramparts; but the skill and exertion of Hunniades revived the sinking spirits of the besieged, and from the discouraging state of passive defence, rendered them assailants; the Turks were repulsed with a dreadful slaughter, their cannon turned on their own camp, the sultan himself desperately wounded; and after a conflict, which lasted from the setting of the sun to the close of the following day, the infidels abandoned their camp, and retreated under cover of the night, with the loss of 30,000 men.

The general exultation at this victory, was damped by the death of Hunniades, in August, 1455; he was seized with a fever, occasioned by his exertions of body and mind, and expired at Semlin, leaving a widow and two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias, both promising to emulate the glory of their illustrious father.

The king of Hungary was little concerned at the death of a subject more powerful than himself, and under the splendour of whose name he was reduced to insignificance; Cilli did not even affect to conceal his joy, at being relieved from so formidable a rival, and transferred to the sons the hatred which he had borne to the father. Nor were they less irritated against the haughty favourite; and their cause became popular in Hungary among the nobles, who prided themselves on the talents of Hunniades, and were disgusted with the influence of a foreigner. In the midst of these contentions, the king, repairing to Hungary at the head of 4000 Germans, assembled a diet at Buda, and inflamed the rage of the opposite party, by nominating Cilli governor of the kingdom. He however received Ladislaus Corvinus with

every mark of affection; spoke with rapture of the victory which had been gained by his father, and declared his intention to pay a visit to Belgrade, that he might behold a place distinguished by so glorious an event, and view the trophies and spoils taken from the Turks.

The elder Corvinus hastened to Belgrade, to prepare for his reception; but suspicious that Cilli meditated treachery, he would only admit the sovereign and his courtiers into the fortress, and excluded his escort. With a view, however, to avert the royal displeasure, he excused his conduct, by urging, that his life was threatened by Cilli; and delivering the keys of the castle, besought his sovereign not to desert the offspring of Hunniades. This incident contributed to inflame still more the mutual jealousies of the two chiefs, and both seem to have meditated the most desperate designs. Meeting by accident, in March, 1457, they inveighed against each other with bitter reproaches, till Cilli, snatching a sabre from a bystander, wounded his rival in the head; Ladislaus drew his sword, his followers flew to his assistance, and a conflict ensued, in which the count was mortally wounded.

The perpetrators of this deed repaired to the king, and justified themselves by declaring that Cilli was the aggressor, and had deservedly met the reward of his crimes. The king, though deeply affected by the death of his favourite, suppressed his emotions, and after ordering the body to be conveyed to Cilli for sepulture, proceeded towards Temeswar. He was followed by Ladislaus and his Hungarian adherents; and on his arrival, the widow of Hunniades, accompanied by her second son, Matthias, and several female attendants, clothed in deep mourning, fell at his feet, and with tears recommended herself and her sons to his protection. She entreated his pardon for the outrage which the eldest had been compelled to commit, and exhorted him not to forget the virtues and services of her departed husband. The king, gently raising her from the ground, promised to consider her as his mother, and her sons as his brothers. "Lay aside," he added, "I beseech you, your widow's weeds; it is superfluous to deplore the loss of one who doubtless lives in Christ. Such was the life of your husband, that his me-

mory ought rather to inspire joy than sorrow. You have sons who emulate their father's virtues, and soothe your regret for his loss; I pardon the eldest, and receive him again into favour." He sanctified these promises by the reception of the sacrament; he then ordered purple and silken garments richly embroidered, to be brought, presented them to the widow and her sons, and, after passing the day in festivity, returned to Buda.

Ladislaus and Matthias, relying on the protection and promises of the king, followed him to Buda; but in the midst of their security, the German troops were secretly assembled, the gates of the palace closed, the two brothers, with their accomplices in the attack of Cilli, were arrested and thrown into prison, and Ladislaus was beheaded. The violation of a solemn promise, and the ignominious death of the son of their renowned chief, roused the indignation of the Hungarians. The widow of Hunniades collected the adherents of her husband, prepared for hostilities, and threatened to surrender the frontier fortresses to the Turks, if her son Matthias was not released; the king, alarmed at her threats, and the discontents of the nation, left Hungary amidst the execrations of the people, and conveyed Matthias to Vienna.

Ladislaus soon afterwards repaired to Prague, to solemnise his marriage with Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII., king of France; but in the midst of the preparations he was seized with a mortal disorder, which terminated fatally in thirty-six hours. On the first symptoms of the attack, Podiebrad hastened to the palace; the king affectionately pressed his hand, and aware that his end was approaching, recommended the kingdom to his care, and requested him to protect his Hungarian and Austrian attendants, and dismiss them in safety. After taking an affectionate leave of the regent, he underwent the ceremonies of the church, and, as a renunciation of worldly vanities, ordered his golden locks, which he cherished with extravagant fondness, to be cut off. Then casting his eyes on the crucifix, he devoutly repeated the Lord's Prayer, and at the words "deliver us from evil," sunk as into a sleep, and breathed his last.

The sudden death of a prince distinguished no less for

his literary acquirements, than for the beauty of his countenance, and the elegance of his form, in the bloom of youth, and on the eve of marriage, excited general compassion. His loss was no less deplored by Europe, as from uniting under his sway Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria, his power seemed capable of forming the sole barrier against the Turks; his adherents and subjects fondly exalted his talents and virtues, and prognosticated that he was animated by the spirit, and would have emulated the example of his illustrious father. On a review, however, of his short life, we distinguish no magnanimity of soul, or energy of mind; but a feeble and irresolute character, a narrow bigotry, and an intolerant spirit. Even at the early age of eighteen, Albert had assumed the reins of government, and held them with a vigour and moderation far superior to his years; on the contrary, Ladislaus, at the same age, evinced no talents or inclination for government, resigned himself to his favourites, and was successively the puppet of the different factions which agitated his kingdoms. Nor in a period of chivalry, with the great examples of his two regents, Hunniades and Podiebrad, and while Hungary was menaced by the Ottoman arms, did he display any military ardour, or show the smallest inclination to place himself at the head of his troops. In fact, he seems to have been a youth of a weak and placid disposition, possessing no personal courage, and more resembling his devout and speculative ancestor, Albert IV., than his firm, active, and enterprising father. Had he lived, his religious bigotry would probably have revived the Hussite wars, and his persecution of the family of Hunniades would have excited civil commotions in Hungary.

From the circumstances of his sudden decease, and the doubtful nature of his disorder, his death was attributed to poison, and Podiebrad was charged with the atrocious crime. This imputation which arose from the reports of the Germans, and obtained credit only from the accession of Podiebrad to the throne, has, however, been ably refuted by the Bohemian historians, who incontestably prove that the death of Ladislaus was occasioned by the plague.

Chap. XIV.—FREDERIC IV. and SIGISMOND. 1384—1496.

We proceed to the line of Tyrol, which became next extinct. Frederic IV., founder of this line, fourth son of Leopold II., was born in 1384. On attaining his majority, he received the Tyrol and its dependencies as his share of the patrimonial inheritance, and seems to have annexed to his dominions Feldkirk, Pludentz, and the castle of Werdenberg, with the county of Sargans, and the Rheinthal, which he or his family either purchased or wrested from the counts of Werdenberg, together with the Gaster, or, as it was then called, the lordship of Windeck. He had scarcely assumed the administration, before he was involved in a war which had broken out between the abbot of St. Gallen and the natives of Appenzel, and from an auxiliary soon became the principal in the contest.

The abbot of St. Gallen, a powerful prelate, who possessed the feudal sovereignty over a considerable territory, was a prince of the German empire, and a member of the league formed by the Suabian cities. He was sovereign lord of St. Gallen, a town which had gradually risen in the vicinity of the abbey, and from its situation and privileges, had attained a high state of prosperity. The natives of Appenzel also were partly feudatories of the abbot, partly under the dominion of the empire, and partly vassals of different nobles; they had gradually obtained privileges from the emperor and the abbot, and increased in wealth, by means of their trade with the town of St. Gallen, and their fertile pastures, which maintained numerous herds of cattle. Several of the small communities had formed a federal union with each other, and were connected by alliances with Schweitz and Glarus, as well as with some of the Suabian cities.

Cuno, abbot of St. Gallen, who was elected in 1374, a prelate of an aspiring and haughty character, attempted to abolish the privileges granted by his predecessors to the town of St. Gallen, and the people of Appenzel, and to annul their alliances with the Suabian cities. He accord-

ingly obtained, by purchase or cession, the feudal rights possessed by the emperor and the petty barons, and thus reduced the greater part of the district under his sway. The tyranny of his bailiffs soon occasioned discontents among this rustic but brave and high-spirited people. In imitation of their Alpine neighbours, they rose with one accord, drove out their oppressors, seized the castles, and formed an alliance with the burghers of St. Gallen, who were equally dissatisfied with the attempts of the abbot to curtail their privileges. Cuno and his chapter retired to Wyle in the Thurgau, and the Suabian cities interposing their mediation, effected an accommodation between the town and the abbot. By their award the complaints of the burghers were redressed, their privileges guaranteed, and their alliance with Appenzel was dissolved. The town acquiesced in these conditions; but the Appenzellers, irritated by the contemptuous silence with which their complaints were passed over, received the decision with indignation. They solemnly renewed their internal union, requested the alliance of the Helvetic confederates; and although their proposal was declined by all except Schweitz and Glarus, prepared to defend their rights, and even rejected a second offer of mediation made by the Suabian cities.

The abbot obtained the assistance of St. Gallen, and six* of the Suabian cities in the vicinity of the Lake of Constance, collected an army of 5000 men to curb his refractory vassals. The combined troops assembled at St. Gallen in 1403, and after feasting sumptuously at the expense of the chapter, advanced on the side of the Speicher, a small village situated at the foot of an eminence. As they passed a wooded defile they were suddenly assailed by the people of Appenzel, assisted by 500 men from Schweitz, and defeated with considerable slaughter. The conquerors then demolished the principal castles in their districts, and terrified the adherents of the abbot by their frequent incursions. The town of St. Gallen renewed its friendly intercourse with the natives of Appenzel, and the

* Constance, Ravensburgh, Uberlingen, Wangen, Buchorn, and Lindau. Planta, vol. i. p. 348.

confederated cities, fatigued with a predatory warfare, which ruined their commerce, concluded a separate peace.

The abbot thus deserted, had recourse to Frederic of Austria, who was apprehensive lest the principles of the confederacy should spread into his territories, and swayed by the same arguments which had induced his presumptuous forefathers to attack the Swiss. Collecting a considerable force at Arbon, on the Lake of Constance, he marched against St. Gallen, which had recently joined the Appenzellers, and sent a detachment of 1400 men to penetrate by Altstetten, into the heart of Appenzel. This detachment burst through the intrenchment which covered the pass at Geiss *; but was discomfited in 1405, with the loss of more than half its number, by the intrepid natives, under the command of the count of Werdenberg, from whose family the house of Austria had wrested Sargans and the Rheinthal. At the same time Frederic himself broke up his camp, and retreated; but the citizens of St. Gallen sallying from the town, assaulted him at the Hauptlisberg, and harassed his march as far as the vicinity of Arbon.

Irritated by his losses and defeat, Frederic made another attempt to penetrate by Wolfshalde; being again discomfited, he mortgaged the Gaster, with the county of Sargans, and the Rheinthal, to the count of Tockenburgh, to whom he abandoned the conduct of the war, and sullenly retired to Inspruck. His departure was the signal for a general attack on all the neighbouring territories, and the people of Appenzel and St. Gallen every where found the natives eager to shake off the yoke, and to hail them as their deliverers. They overran in 1406, the Rheinthal without resistance, made themselves masters of the town and castle of Werdenberg, and restored them to their gallant leader. They marched in the depth of winter to the Lake of Zurich, conquered the Lower March †, with the old town of Rappers-

* This engagement is generally called the battle of the Stoss, a word which signifies a frontier.

† The Upper and Lower Marches, which afterwards belonged to the canton of Schweitz, stretched from Reichenberg, along the southern shore of the lake of Zurich, to above Altendorf or Old Rapperschwyl, comprehending also the Waggithal. The Lower March included Lachen, Altendorf, Galgenen, and the Waggithal.

chwyl or Altendorf, and surrendered that territory to the people of Schweitz, in gratitude for their assistance. They extended their ravages into the Tockenburgh and Thurgau, captured Feldkirk and Pludentz, took the castle of Kyburgh, and devastated the country to the gates of Winterthur. They scaled Mount Arlberg, forced the pass of Laudich, and penetrating into the Tyrol, displayed their triumphant banners in the vallies of the Inn and the Adige, where the natives joyfully hailed their approach, and eagerly threw off the Austrian domination. Apprised that the Austrians and the abbot were meditating an attack on their frontiers, they returned in 1407, captured the town of Wyle, after a short resistance, and conveyed the abbot to St. Gallen, where they forced him to take up his residence and conclude a peace. Encouraged by their successes, they continued their attacks against the Austrian territories, and boasted that they would overrun Suabia, and restore liberty to the people who were oppressed by the nobles; in execution of their purpose they crossed the Lake of Constance, in the depth of a rigorous winter, and laid siege to the important town of Bregentz.

This war had already continued five years, and it would seem a matter of just surprise, that an inconsiderable number of herdsmen and burghers should have extended their dominion and spread their devastations from the Thur to the Adige, without experiencing a single check; but in reality their rapid success was principally owing to the divisions in the Austrian family and the discontents among the subjects of Frederic. They were also supported by Schweitz and Glarus, and secretly abetted by the other confederates, who derived great advantages from the war; as many of the Austrian vassals and towns, abandoned by their sovereign, sought their protection and alliance.

At length the nobles of Helvetia and Suabia, alarmed at the rapidity of their progress and the diffusion of their principles, formed an union to repress so dangerous and enterprising an enemy, and were encouraged by Robert, who had been chosen king of the Romans, on the deposition of Wenceslaus. Early in the year, 8000 men were assembled under the command of Rhodolph, count of Montfort, and hastened to the relief of Bregentz; their approach being

favoured by a thick fog, they surprised the besiegers, and on the 13th of January, 1408, compelled them to abandon their enterprise, though with only an inconsiderable loss. This trifling defeat hastened the termination of the war. The people of Appenzel, unsupported by their Helvetic allies, and dreading the force of the empire, acceded to the terms of peace which were dictated by the king of the Romans: they were to restore the conquered districts, to renounce all the alliances which they had contracted since the commencement of the war, and to return to their allegiance to the abbot. A peace was concluded between them and the abbot, a truce of three years with Frederic; and an express reservation was made of his rights to the Lower March of Schweitz, and the territories of Werdenberg.

The people of Appenzel, who reluctantly acquiesced in these conditions, delayed restoring the Rheinthal and Sargans, or attempting to obtain from Schweitz the cession of the Lower March. Accordingly, on the conclusion of the truce, Frederic, at the head of 12,000 men, took Rheineck and Altstetten, and recovered the Rheinthal, Sargans, and the castle of Werdenberg. Too prudent to risk another defeat by attacking the people of Appenzel in their own country, he contented himself with the recovery of his possessions, and returned to the Tyrol; the people of Appenzel likewise, convinced that distant and romantic expeditions would only endanger their liberties, confined themselves to the defence of their frontiers, and strengthened themselves by an alliance with the count of Tockenburgh and the lord of Sax, and still more by a treaty with seven of the Swiss cantons.

On the death of Leopold in 1411, Frederic succeeded to his possessions; and thus, besides the Tyrol, united the territories of the house of Austria, in Suabia, Alsace, and the Brisgau, together with the town and district of Lauffenburgh, which had fallen to Leopold on the extinction of the male line. But the Austrian influence and power had been considerably diminished in Helvetia since the fatal battle of Sempach, from the alienation of no less than forty lordships, which had been sold or mortgaged to the Helvetic states by the Austrian princes and their vassals; while, on the con-

trary, the strength and territories of the confederates had proportionably increased. Friburgh had formed an alliance with Bern; Schaffhausen had obtained a more popular form of government; and Basle had purchased, from the house of Austria, the little town which lies on the other side of the Rhine. By these accessions the confederates, having obtained a preponderance sufficient to secure their own independence, were courted by their powerful neighbours, and even respected by the more distant states of Europe. Their prosperous example diffused a similar spirit through the neighbouring districts, and, in imitation of their union, several smaller leagues were formed in Rhetia, which afterwards contributed to weaken the house of Austria, and to increase the ascendency of the Swiss.

From policy, as well as from natural jealousy, the Helvetic cantons either secretly abetted or openly assisted the enemies of the house of Austria, and readily received under their protection the vassals or towns belonging to that family, who were desirous of support or emancipation. Frederic experienced the ill effects of their powerful interference, and in a desultory warfare with Basle, in 1411, for the possession of some frontier villages, was foiled by their interposition, and obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Sensible also that his subjects in the Tyrol and in the neighbourhood of the confederates were eager to follow their example, he endeavoured to prevent the total loss of his dominions, by concluding a permanent peace with the Helvetic cantons. As the truce of twenty years was nearly expired, he made overtures for its prolongation; but experienced a considerable opposition. At length, however, by suspending his claims on the Lower March in favour of Schweitz, and by remitting the feudal tribute due from some of the smaller cantons, he obtained their concurrence, and a peace for fifty years was concluded on the 5th of May, 1412. The eight cantons, and their allies of Soleure and Appenzel, were confirmed in the possession of all the lands which they had acquired either by arms, surrender, or purchase; and all the feudal rights still pertaining to the Austrian family, with the power of redeeming the mortgaged territories, were solemnly confirmed to the duke.

Having thus, as he imagined, secured tranquillity on the side of Helvetia, Frederic turned his attention to the Tyrol. Henry of Rotemburgh, governor of the valley of the Adige, whose wealth and power had rendered him an object of jealousy, and enabled him to brave his sovereign, raised the standard of revolt, and instigated the dukes of Lower Bavaria to invade the Tyrol. At the same time Frederic was involved in disputes with the bishops of Brixen and Coire, in regard to some ecclesiastical fiefs situated in the Tyrol, and was dissatisfied with the bishop of Trent, the friend and ally of Henry of Rotemburgh. In these embarrassments he marched against the dukes of Bavaria, who had invested Hall, compelled them to conclude a temporary truce, and afterwards to abandon their enterprise. He also attacked the bishop of Coire, in the castle of Furstenberg, and took him prisoner, but restored him to liberty in consequence of the intervention of the Rhetian league. He made himself master of the principal fortresses in the bishopric of Brixen, and, expelling the bishop of Trent, took possession of his territory; he likewise awed his discontented subjects; and was fortunately relieved from a dangerous internal enemy, by the death of Henry of Rotemburgh.

But while he had succeeded in securing the internal and external tranquillity of his dominions, a storm was gathering in another quarter, which suddenly burst over his head, and threatened him with utter ruin. During the schism of the empire he had first supported Robert, whose daughter he had married, against the house of Luxemburgh, and afterwards the Anti-Cæsar Jodocus, in opposition to Sigismond. He had still further alienated the emperor by declining to do homage for his territories; and from some other provocations their disagreement burst forth into personal reproaches and violent altercations.

Such was the situation of Frederic, when the council of Constance assembled to terminate the schism in the church. Apprehensive that Sigismond would encourage the bishops of Coire, Brixen, and Trent to appeal to the council, and seize so favourable a pretext to excite the empire against him, he listened to the overtures of pope John XXIII. That pontiff had thrown himself under the protection of Sigismond, and, by his persuasion, had reluctantly con-

sented to summon a general council at Constance, in the hope that the two other popes, Benedict and Gregory, would be compelled to abdicate, and he himself be acknowledged the sole head of the Catholic church. Distrusting, however, the intentions of the emperor, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a union with some of the German princes; he also applied to Frederic, whose numerous fortresses in the vicinity of Constance might afford him a ready asylum, and who, he was aware, fostered a personal antipathy to Sigismond. His overtures being gladly accepted, he conferred on Frederic the office of standard-bearer of the church, with a salary of 6,000 ducats, and their union was strengthened by the accession of the elector of Mentz, the margrave of Baden, and Philip duke of Burgundy.

Frederic, at the head of 500 retainers, accompanied the pope to Constance, and the council being opened, John was compelled to promise the abdication of his dignity, as a sacrifice to the peace of the church. At the same time Frederic, being summoned by the emperor to do homage, reluctantly complied, and received the investiture of his fiefs. But suspicious that Sigismond supported the complaints of the three bishops, and conscious that he had incited the Swiss confederates to invade his territories, Frederic favoured the escape of the pope, who hoped by his flight to dissolve the council. With this view he, on the 21st of March, 1415, gave a magnificent tournament in the vicinity of Constance; and while the spectacle attracted general attention, John, in the dress of a groom, retired from the town, and took refuge in Schaffhausen. Frederic, who was engaged in the lists, purposely prolonged the combat, till the pope had arrived in a place of safety, and then, yielding an easy victory, hastened to join the fugitive.

The evasion of the pontiff at first occasioned general consternation; till the fathers, encouraged by the urgent representations of Sigismond, declared the council permanent, and superior to the authority of the pope; John, with Benedict and Gregory, were formally divested of their dignity, in a subsequent session, and the schism in the church terminated by the election of Martin V.

The consequences of this imprudent step were fatal to

Frederic. He was excommunicated by the council, put under the ban of the empire, and divested of his territories as a traitor to the emperor, and an enemy to the church; his subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and the surrounding states were incited to invade his territories by the promise of absolution, and of permission to retain their conquests. These acts were no sooner promulgated than carried into execution; no less than four hundred states and nobles sent declarations of war to Schaffhausen; within a month the whole empire was in arms, and a force of 30,000 men, under the burgrave of Nurenberg, bursting into the dominions of Frederic, took Stein and Diesenhofen, and advanced against Schaffhausen.

On the approach of danger, Frederic, with the pontiff, escaped to Laffenburgh; and Schaffhausen, surrendering without resistance, was received under the protection of the empire. Frauenfield, with the towns and nobles of the Thurgau, followed the example, and the count of Tockenburgh appropriated the county of Sargans, and the other districts which were pledged to him on mortgage, and, in conjunction with the bishop of Coire, besieged Feldkirch. Seckingen was invested by the forces of Basle, and Austrian Alsace overrun by an army of execution under the elector palatine. While Frederic was endeavouring to collect his forces in the Argau, he was astounded with the intelligence that the Swiss confederates had yielded to the instigations of the emperor, and, breaking the peace, had conquered his dominions in Helvetia. The people of Bern assembling their coburghers from Soleure, Bienne, and Neufchatel, raised the imperial banner, and took Zoffingen, Aarberg, Arau, Bruck, and Lentzburgh, with various castles, and, among the rest, that of Hapsburgh, the original seat of the Austrian family. Having thus in eight days extended their conquests to the conflux of the Aar and the Reuss, they rewarded their co-burghers with a sum of money, and appropriated that extensive, populous, and well-cultivated district. At the same time Lucern, with equal rapidity, took Sursee, with the baillages of Reichensee, Meyerburgh, and Vilmeringen, in the Wagginthal; Zurich occupied the lordship of Knonau, and, being joined by the troops of the Forest Cantons, conquered Mellingen

and Bremgarten, with the surrounding districts. Their combined forces next laid siege to Baden, the strongest and most important of the Austrian fortresses in Helvetia, and the place being gallantly defended by the brave governor, Burcard of Mansberg, they obtained succours from Bern, and prosecuted the siege with increasing ardour.

During these events Frederic had retired from Lauffenburgh to Brisach, and seems to have embraced the resolution of defending himself to the last extremity. His cause was not altogether hopeless; Baden, Seckingen, and Feldkirch, still made a glorious defence; and many of the Austrian vassals, recovering from their first consternation, sent declarations of hostility against the emperor, and by their incursions alarmed the council of Constance. Above all, the Tyrolese, and the people of the Black Forest, continued loyal, and burned to avenge the cause of their persecuted sovereign. Pope John supplied him with large sums of money; the dukes of Burgundy and Loraine were preparing to assist him; and he might have expected that the influence, if not the forces of his brother Earnest, and his cousin Albert, would be employed in his cause. Unfortunately Frederic was as much depressed by adversity as elated by prosperity; he sunk under his multiplied disasters, and, refusing to listen to the exhortations of the pope and of his adherents, or to the voice of honour, yielded to the pusillanimous advice of Louis duke of Bavaria, and consented to deliver up the pope, and submit himself to the mercy of Sigismond.

No prince of the empire ever submitted to such indignities, or experienced such degradations, as Frederic. To grace and witness his triumph, Sigismond summoned the most considerable princes of the empire, and the ambassadors from the Italian states, with the chief fathers of the council, into the refectory of the Franciscan convent at Constance. The emperor, having seated himself on his throne, Frederic, accompanied by his nephew the burgrave of Nuremberg, and by his brother-in-law Louis of Bavaria, entered the apartment, and thrice prostrated himself. The eyes of the whole assembly were fixed on the unfortunate prince, and a dead silence prevailed, till Sigismond demanded, "What is your desire?" the burgrave replied,

"Most mighty king, this is duke Frederic of Austria, my uncle; at his desire I implore your royal pardon, and that of the council, for his offences against you and the church; he surrenders himself and all his possessions to your mercy and pleasure, and offers to bring back the pope to Constance, on condition that his person and property shall remain inviolate." The emperor, raising his voice, asked, "Duke Frederic, do you engage to fulfil these promises?" and the duke, in faltering accents, answered, "I do, and humbly implore your royal mercy." At this reply a sensation of pity spread through the whole assembly; even Sigismond himself seemed to be affected, and said, "I am concerned that he has been guilty of such misdemeanours." Frederic took the oath, by which he surrendered to Sigismond all his territories, from the Tyrol to the Brisgau, submitting to hold as a favour what the emperor should please to restore, and yielded himself as an hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions. Sigismond then took him by the hand, and concluded the ceremony by observing to the Italian prelates, "You well know, reverend fathers, the power and consequence of the dukes of Austria; learn, by this example, what a king of the Germans can accomplish."

In conformity with his promises, Frederic delivered the pope to the ambassadors of the emperor, and prepared to fulfil his other engagements; yet, in submitting to such dishonourable conditions, he expected not only to reconcile himself with the emperor, but to be reinstated in his possessions. He was, however, grievously disappointed, and had the mortification to witness his territories parcelled out and alienated, to fill the coffers of the necessitous emperor. Sigismond, indeed, ordered the Swiss to lay down their arms, and deliver Baden into his possession, and, on their refusal, sent a body of troops to relieve the place; but the Swiss had already carried the town by assault, and the imperial forces only arrived to behold the smoking ruins of the castle. After a still more feeble attempt to induce them to restore their conquests, he finally confirmed the possession on the payment of a considerable sum of money; and the confederates, in a congress held at Zurich, divided the spoils, and engaged to unite in defending their

acquisitions against all attacks. Bern retained the Argau, including the county of Lentzburgh; Zurich, Knonau; Lucern, the town of Sursee, with its dependencies; and the county of Baden, with the free bailiwicks of Bremgarten and Mellingen, were to be held in common by six of the cantons.* Glarus, Zug, Underwalden, and Uri, were relieved by the emperor from all their feudal duties to the house of Austria, and the advocacy of the abbey of Einsidlin was transferred to the canton of Schweitz. With the same disregard of justice and attention to his own private interests, Sigismond, on the payment of a sum of money, soon afterwards emancipated Schaffhausen, Diesenhofen, Neuburg, Brisach, and Ratofsel, from the Austrian jurisdiction, and declared them imperial towns; he also sold the landgraviate of Alsace to John of Lauffen; and the baillages of Upper and Lower Suabia to the lord of Waldburgh. He likewise endeavoured to gain possession of the Tyrol; but Frederic, alarmed at length by his avarice and rapacity, privately encouraged his brother Ernest to occupy the country, and assume the administration; the natives united to maintain the rights of their sovereign; the passes were fortified, and the imperial troops sent to take possession of the country, retired without effecting their object.

Meanwhile the council continued its sittings; pope John was imprisoned, and compelled to abdicate; and Sigismond, having obtained the resignation of Gregory XII., repaired to Spain, to procure either the forced or voluntary renunciation of the other pope, Benedict XII., who had taken refuge in the court of Arragon.

Meanwhile Frederic was detained at Constance, where he was treated like a culprit, and watched like a prisoner. He was brought into the courts of justice, to answer all the complaints which were preferred against him; he was repeatedly excommunicated by the bishop of Trent, for not restoring the dominions of that see, and threatened with still severer punishments by the council; he was deserted

* Bern, on account of the portion it had already obtained, and Uri, which had been reluctantly induced to break the truce with Frederic, declined any share in the government of these territories. Bern was afterwards admitted into the co-regency in 1426, and Uri in 1445.

by all, avoided as a heretic and a traitor, reduced to want, and deprived almost of the necessaries of life, and the common offices of humanity. Malicious reports were industriously circulated that he was engaged in plots to assassinate the emperor, and menaces were not withheld that he was destined to become a sacrifice to public justice. Still, however, his patience was unexhausted; he calmly bore the pressure of want, the taunts and insults of his enemies, and even the menaces of an ignominious death, till he was apprised that Ernest endeavoured to appropriate the Tyrol, the last remnant of his possessions. The treachery of his brother arousing him from his despondency, he at length displayed a spirit which, if before exerted, might have restored his declining fortune, and saved him from the multiplied indignities to which he had been exposed. Escaping from Constance, on the 1st of March, 1416, with only four attendants, he took the route of Feldkirch, and, passing the Arlberg, descended into the valley of the Adige, where he was received by a considerable party of the natives, whose sense of duty, or pity for his misfortunes, had revived their loyalty and affection. The sudden appearance of Frederic embarrassed Ernest, without checking his designs; but a civil war was prevented by the firmness of Frederic, the increasing numbers of his party, and the interference of Louis of Bavaria, and the archbishop of Saltzburgh. Ernest retired into Styria, and Frederic again resumed the government of the Tyrol.

Frederic was once more exposed to the ban of the empire, and the excommunications of the council; and Sigismond, on his return to Constance, endeavoured to replenish his coffers, which were exhausted by the journey to Spain, from the remaining spoils of the Austrian prince. Assembling the states of the empire, with affected candour, he enforced the necessity, while he expressed his regret, to reduce a prince equally weak in his designs, and rash in his enterprises; and urged them to vindicate by arms the majesty of the empire, and the dignity of their chief. He obtained a ready assent, and promises of assistance from all, except Louis of Bavaria, who alone ventured to justify the unfortunate prince, and by his warmth in stigmatising the rigour, harshness, and even

injustice with which he was treated, drew on himself the displeasure of the emperor. Sigismond, thus assured of the support of the empire, continued to sate his vengeance, or to gratify his avarice with the spoils of Frederic; for a sum of money he conferred on the count of Tockenburgh, as imperial fiefs, the territories between Bregentz and the Prettigau; the county of Kyburgh, which had been mortgaged to the family of Montfort by the house of Austria, he sold to Zurich; the criminal jurisdiction over the Thurgau, to Constance; to Basle, the four contiguous districts of the Rhine; and he conferred on Winterthur the privileges of an imperial town. So far did he carry his rapacity, that he even alienated the power of redeeming mortgages, and, among others, sold to Zurich the privilege of redeeming the lordship of Windeck or the Gaster, with the consent of the possessor, the count of Tockenburgh.*

He proceeded in this system of spoliation, till he was checked by the arrival of Ernest, who, at the head of a considerable body of troops, suddenly appeared at the gates of Constance, and extorted his consent to an accommodation with Frederic. By the intervention of the new pope, Martin V., the articles were adjusted, and the formal reconciliation took place at Constance, amidst an innumerable crowd of spectators, on the 25th of May, 1418. Frederic took the oath of allegiance, and agreed to restore the territories which he had wrested from the bishop of Trent, and to pay the emperor the sum of 70,000 florins, which was afterwards reduced to 50,000; in return he recovered all his territories, except those which had been ceded to the Swiss, or the places and districts which had been alienated by the emperor. He accordingly resumed his rank and dignity as a member of the empire, and was one of the princes who supported the canopy, when pope Martin took his departure from Constance.

From this period the life of Frederic presents few events worthy of record; as sensible of the rashness and folly of his former conduct, he applied himself to the interior government of the Tyrol. By the most rigid economy,

* This power of redemption, afterwards occasioned the civil war between Zurich and the other confederates.

by the imposition of heavy taxes, by confiscating the estates of the nobles who had shown an aversion to his government, and adhered to his brother Ernest, he amassed a considerable treasure, and redeemed most of the territories which had been mortgaged during his disputes with Sigismond. He seems to have been affected by the nickname of Frederic the Pennyless, which was given him during his destitute state at Constance: with a view to remove the imputation, besides his treasures, he collected jewels and rarities to a considerable amount, and, with a childish ostentation, richly gilded the copper roof of his chancery at Inspruck.* Towards the close of his life, his attention was again called to the affairs of Switzerland, in consequence of the death of Frederic, count of Tockenburgh, and the dispute for his succession. His domains, partly imperial fiefs, partly allodials, and partly mortgages from the house of Austria, consisted of the Tockenburgh, the gaster or lordship of Windeck, with Utznach, the Upper March, the county of Sargans, the district to the east of the Rhine from Bregentz to the Prettigau, considerable territories in Rhætia. As he died intestate, his dominions were claimed by his widow Elizabeth, and by his heirs of the collateral female branches; Zurich likewise demanded Windeck, in virtue of the power of redemption granted by Sigismond, and confirmed by the late count; while Schweitz and Glarus claimed Fuggen, with the Upper March, in consequence of a compact of coburghership. Frederic also testified a resolution to redeem the lands which had been mortgaged to the counts of Tockenburgh.

The three cantons eagerly engaged in the dispute, from a desire to secure a portion of so important a territory; and the widow purchased the support of Zurich, by ceding Utznach, and by promising to accept the redemption of Windeck. The subjects took different parts; some obtained the coburghership of Zurich, others that of Schweitz, and some, from a desire of acquiring inde-

* According to Fugger, the expense of this ridiculous piece of finery, was no less than 200,000 ducats. It was called the golden roof by the common people, and even some historians have asserted that it was made of pure gold.

pendence, refused to be transferred from one sovereign to another, or maintained a neutrality. These contrary claims and violent disputes at length produced hostilities between Zurich on one side, and Schweitz and Glarus on the other; and had Frederic retained his former spirit of enterprise, and desire of aggrandisement, he might have availed himself of this opportunity to divide and humble the confederates. But avarice, not ambition, was now become his ruling passion: although the people of Zurich overran the county of Sargans, which he had redeemed, and razed his castles of Friedberg and Niedenberg, he bore the insult with indifference, and, as if desirous to avoid any pretext which might involve him in the conflict, he transferred to Schweitz and Glarus the power of redeeming Windeck, and, in 1437, re-sold the county of Upper Sargans to Henry of Werdenberg, retaining only the district of Lower Sargans.*

On the 25th of June, 1439, Frederic died at Inspruck, leaving a character more remarkable for weakness and misfortunes, than for his talents or actions. By his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Robert, he had no issue; and after her death he espoused Anne of Brunswick, who bore him several children, but none survived except Sigismond.

Sigismond being only twelve years of age at the death of his father, a struggle for his guardianship, and the administration of his dominions, ensued between Frederic and Albert, the princes of the Styrian line; and, after some difficulty, a compromise took place, by which the care of the young prince, with the government of the Tyrol, was assigned to Frederic, and the other provinces intrusted to Albert. But the natives of the Tyrol, dissatisfied with Frederic, broke into revolt, and compelled him to relinquish the administration of affairs, which, after a regency of three years, was assumed by the young prince himself. He also took possession of his paternal inheritance in Switzerland, together with Winterthur, which, during his minority, had relinquished its privileges as an imperial city, the county of Kyburgh, which had been

* Lower Sargans comprised Wallenstadt, with the lordships of Niedberg and Friedenberg.

restored by Zurich, and perhaps the country between Bregentz and the Prettigau, which was redeemed from the house of Tockenburgh, and to which he afterwards added the city of Bregentz by purchase from the count of Montfort. It is, however, remarkable that he did not succeed to the exterior provinces in Suabia, Alsace, and the Brisgau, which, with Friburgh in the Uchtland, were held by his cousin Albert till his death.

The reign of Sigismond is memorable in the History of the House of Austria, for the loss of all the dominions which yet remained to his family in Switzerland, and which were reduced to Lower Sargans, Kyburgh, Winterthur, and Rapperschwyl. As he inherited the claims of his family to their former territories, he naturally fostered an antipathy to the Helvetic confederates; he was still further irritated by the loss of Rapperschwyl, the inhabitants of which town throwing off their allegiance, were received under the protection of Schweitz, Uri, Underwalden, and Glarus. He therefore augmented the garrison of Winterthur, and seemed inclined to seize the first opportunity of attacking the confederates, when he was involved in disputes with Nicholas de Cusa, cardinal archbishop of Brixen, for the possession of some silver mines recently discovered at Schwartz; hostilities commenced, but were suspended by the intervention of Pius II., who in 1460, summoned both parties before his tribunal. Before the decision of the cause, however, the war was renewed, and Sigismond investing the castle of Brunic, took the bishop prisoner. The pope irritated by this contempt of his authority, fulminated a sentence of excommunication against Sigismond, and instigated the Swiss to invade his territories. They eagerly obeyed the summons, overran the Thurgau without opposition, received the voluntary allegiance of the natives at Frauenfield, besieged Winterthur, and made incursions into the Austrian territories in the vicinity of the lake of Constance. Sigismond, unable to resist the forces of the confederates, obtained a peace by the cession of the conquered territories; and being stripped of the greater part of his possessions, sold Kyburgh and Winterthur to Zurich, and thus alienated the remnant of the Austrian inheritance in Switzerland. Both parties were

too much exasperated, and too jealous of each other to continue long in peace, and a trifling pretext rekindled the flames of war. Petty disputes arising between the burghers of Schaffhausen and Mulhausen, who had formed an alliance with some of the Swiss cantons*; and the Austrian vassals, in regard to debts or fines, the burgomaster of Schaffhausen was seized, and compelled to pay a ransom of 1800 florins, and the people of Mulhausen were harassed in their commerce, and their markets interrupted. The Swiss cantons instantly armed in defence of their allies; and 7000 men devastated Alsace and the Black Forest, and invested Waldshut. The town was on the point of surrendering, when Sigismond again purchased a dishonourable peace, by agreeing to pay 10,000 florins for the expenses of the war; to reimburse the burgomaster of Schaffhausen; and to respect the privileges, and not to interrupt the trade of Mulhausen.

Unable or unwilling to discharge this sum, he endeavoured, in 1468, to obtain the support of the neighbouring princes; and was forming plans for the prosecution of another war. He applied in vain to his cousin the emperor Frederic, and afterwards to Louis XI. of France, whose father had been engaged in a fruitless contest against the confederates; but that wily monarch had learnt by experience to appreciate their resources, and respect their valour, and refused to break the alliance which had been concluded with them by his father. Sigismond found at length a ready compliance from Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, who aspired to raise his duchy to a kingdom, and was anxious to extend his dominions by conquests on the side of Helvetia. From him Sigismond received the sum of 10,000 florins, which he had engaged to pay the Swiss, and mortgaged to him the four Forest towns, with his dominions in Alsace and the Brisgau, for the additional sum of 80,000 florins.

Louis XI. and the confederates were equally alarmed at this union, and joined in an alliance which was afterwards followed by an offensive and defensive treaty. Louis even succeeded in detaching Sigismond, who was at length con-

* Schaffhausen, with Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Underwalden, Zug, and Glarus; and Mulhausen, with Bern and Soleure.

vinced that he was destined to become the tool of the duke of Burgundy, and was displeased with the exactions of the Burgundian governor Peter de Hagenbach in the mortgaged territories. By the bribes and intrigues of the French king, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded between Sigismond and the Swiss. Sigismond renewed the treaty of Waldshut, confirmed the Swiss in all their possessions, and consented, in case of a war, to open to them the four Forest towns; the Swiss in return renewed their usual stipulation not to receive any of the Austrian vassals into their confederacy, and both parties promised reciprocal assistance and mutual guaranty, and engaged to impose no new tolls, and to permit each other to levy soldiers in their respective territories. Sigismond received from Basle and Strasburgh a loan of 80,000 florins, under the security of Louis, and tendered that sum to the duke of Burgundy, for the redemption of his domains; but his demand being evaded, the inhabitants rose, and again acknowledged him as their sovereign. Hagenbach the Burgundian governor was seized, and brought before a tribunal instituted by Sigismond, at which the Swiss deputies assisted, and being condemned, suffered the sentence of decapitation.

Louis having united against the duke of Burgundy, the emperor, the duke of Loraine, Sigismond, and the Swiss, and the cities and princes of the Rhine commenced hostilities; but, with that interested and perfidious policy which marked his character and actions, deserted the league, and concluded, in June 1475, a separate treaty of nine years with the duke of Burgundy. The emperor having likewise withdrawn from the confederacy, Charles in a few days overran the duchy of Loraine, and returning to Besançon, prepared for an attack against the Swiss. But like the princes of the house of Austria, he experienced their unconquerable valour, when exerted in defence of their own country, and after two humiliating defeats at Grandson and Morat, which raised still higher their military reputation, and surpassed even their former deeds, he fell on the 5th of January, 1477, at the battle of Nancy, and with him expired the power and the line of the house of Burgundy.

During this contest, Sigismond had found in his former enemies his most able defenders; he therefore endeavoured to renew his alliance with the Swiss confederates, and concluded, under the title of an hereditary union, a treaty for ten years with Bern, Soleure, Zurich, Lucern, and Zug, on the same conditions as before, except the stipulation relative to the four Forest towns; but the rest of the cantons refusing to accede to this modification, the hereditary union was afterwards abrogated, and the former treaty renewed in its full force.

After the death of Charles of Burgundy, Sigismond concluded a peace with Mary his daughter and heiress; and on her marriage with his cousin Maximilian, united his interests with those of his house, and as far as his scanty revenues would permit, assisted in the war which Maximilian carried on against Lous XI., for the inheritance of his wife.

During these events, Sigismond was engaged in frequent disputes with his cousin the emperor Frederic. He accused the emperor of having purloined many of his father's jewels and valuable curiosities, and in 1456, entered into a league against him with Ladislaus Posthumus. The disagreement was aggravated after the death of Ladislaus by the contests for the division of the Austrian territories, but a reconciliation was at length effected, and when the emperor was driven from Austria by Matthias Corvinus, Sigismond afforded him a refuge at Inspruck. He even adopted Cunegunda, the daughter of Frederic; took charge of her education; gave her in marriage to Albert duke of Bavaria, with a portion of 20,000 florins; and being without issue, intailed on her the reversion of the Tyrol. But his subjects, who were averse to this transfer, broke out into open revolt, appropriated his revenues for the payment of his debts, and the redemption of his mortgages, and confined him to a weekly allowance of 100 ducats. Frederic himself was no less dissatisfied, and refused to approve the marriage; accordingly Sigismond relinquished his weak and imprudent scheme, and in March 1490, was prevailed upon, or perhaps compelled, to cede the administration of all his dominions to Maximilian, on the yearly payment of 52,000 florins, during the life

of himself and his wife, and the defrayment of the expenses of his court.*

Sigismond thus terminated his weak, improvident, and profuse administration, and after living six years as a private individual, died on the 26th of October, 1496, in the seventieth year of his age. He was equally remarkable for his skill and strength in tournaments; and for his proficiency in the arts and sciences. His court was distinguished for splendour and elegance, and frequented by the children of the greatest princes of Europe. He was capricious, fanciful, and restless in his disposition, and by his extravagance, dissipated the treasures amassed by his father; involved himself in unnecessary and fruitless wars; and, to supply his wants and expenses, mortgaged or alienated his inheritance, and thus obtained and deserved the surname of "the Simple." It is but justice, however, to add, that Sigismond maintained the internal tranquillity of his dominions, and preserved the roads of the Tyrol in security, while Germany swarmed with robbers and banditti. For this purpose, he placed watchmen on all his castles, who, on seeing more than two persons on horseback, sounded a horn, and collected the neighbouring inhabitants. It is singular also, that although he was almost the poorest prince of the time, he directed his attention to the improvement of his mint; and his coins are distinguished for the fineness of the metal, and the superiority of their execution.

The first wife of Sigismond was Eleonora, daughter of James I., king of Scotland, who died in 1480, and his second was Catharine, daughter of Albert of Saxony. Though blessed with no issue by either of his wives, he left no less than fourteen natural children.

* Some historians relate that Sigismond voluntarily made this transfer from affection to Maximilian. Pirkheimer, a contemporary of credit, in his account of the Helvetic war, with more probability says, Sigismond was compelled to resign the reins of government.

Chap. XV.—ERNEST, FREDERIC, and ALBERT. 1383—1449.

By the deaths of Ladislaus Posthumus and of Sigismond, the male issue of the Albertine and Tyrol lines became extinct, and the house of Austria was reduced to the Styrian line.

The founder of this line was Ernest, third son of Leopold, who was killed at the battle of Sempach. He was born in 1383, received his education at the celebrated university of Bologna, and on the division of the Austrian dominions, obtained the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He was surnamed "the Iron," from the energy of his mind, and the strength of his constitution, and being a prince of a restless disposition, was at perpetual variance with his brothers Leopold and Frederic. According to the spirit of the age, he mingled devotion with war, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. On his return in 1411, he fixed his residence at Gratz, the capital of Styria.

During the dispute, in which his brother Frederic was put to the ban of the empire, and despoiled of his dominions by Sigismond and the Swiss, Ernest, from dislike to his brother, or from a dread of incurring the emperor's displeasure, preserved a neutrality which was little congenial to the ardour of his character. The emperor, however, had no sooner evinced an intention to occupy Tyrol, than Ernest roused himself from his apparent supineness, and in 1415, leading a considerable force into the country, took possession of it, with the concurrence of the states, and the connivance of his brother. In reply to the ambassadors, who required the cession of the Tyrol, he said, "Let his imperial majesty content himself with the numerous states he has already appropriated in Helvetia and Suabia. If it be necessary to punish my brother, at least let him not punish him by seizing those lands which are the common property of the house of Austria; and since his territories are to be made a prey, I will have my share, particularly the Tyrol, which is my paternal inheritance.

The people of this country are accustomed to swear allegiance only to him who holds the castle of the Tyrol; that castle, therefore, the emperor must win by the sword."

This spirited conduct preserved the Tyrol; as Sigismond was too much embarrassed with more important concerns, and too weak to enforce his demands. In these circumstances, Ernest endeavoured to appropriate the Tyrol, by extorting the allegiance of the natives, and was supported by the principal nobles and clergy; but his views were thwarted by the presence of Frederic, who escaped from Constance; as well as by the opposition of the towns, and the majority of the people. This unnatural contest was terminated by the mediation of mutual friends, and a reconciliation being effected, Ernest yielded the Tyrol to his brother.

When Sigismond took advantage of the flight of Frederic, to put him again under the ban of the empire, his further spoliations were checked by Ernest, who, in 1418, with 1000 horse, and a considerable body of foot, among whom were a band of chosen marksmen, suddenly appeared at the gates of Constance. Leaving his troops encamped under the walls, he entered the town with an escort of 100 horse, accompanied by his principal counsellors, and boldly remonstrated with the emperor against the injustice of his conduct: "If," said he, "duke Frederic has transgressed, let duke Frederic alone suffer; why should his punishment involve two unoffending princes? Have you not already wrested from the house of Austria the Argau and Thurgau, with the lordships of Baden and Lentzburgh, and transferred them to rustics for sordid gold? You have afforded a dreadful example to the licentious people; in future, princes must obey their vassals; and the emperor must take the field attended only by peasants. Your majesty must act more graciously, that the house of Austria may be strengthened in its fidelity to you and the empire, and not be compelled to complain of the emperor Sigismond. You must not intrust the administration of justice to a council, or suffer ecclesiastics to lord it as they list over the princes of the empire; let them sway the episcopal crosier, and leave the emperor to wield the temporal sceptre." These spirited remonstrances of a prince dis-

tinguished for energy of mind and determined resolution, supported by the presence of a formidable force, terrified the council, and awed the emperor; he abstained from his intended spoliation, and agreed to a treaty which in some degree restored Frederic to his rank and possessions.

This is the last memorable transaction which history has recorded of Ernest, who died in 1424. He married first Margaret, daughter of Bogeslaus, duke of Pomerania, by whom he had no issue; and in his second marriage gave a proof of the chivalrous bent of his character, and the romantic spirit of the times. Being at the court of the emperor Sigismond at Buda, he heard a great eulogium of the beauty and talents of Cymburga, daughter of Ziemovitz, duke of Masovia, by Alexandra, sister of Uladislaus Jaghellon, king of Poland. Inflamed with this account, he rode in disguise to Cracow, where the young princess resided, at the court of her uncle, and finding the accounts of her beauty and accomplishments not exaggerated, he discovered himself, and obtained the consent of the king, and the hand of the princess. Notwithstanding her beauty and accomplishments, Cymburga was endowed with a masculine strength, which rendered her a fit companion for her adamantine husband; historians record that she could crack nuts with her fingers, and with her hand drive a nail as far as others with a hammer. She was the mother of several children, some of whom died in their infancy, and from her are said to have been derived the thick lips, the characteristic feature of the Austrian family. Of the sons, Frederic and Albert survived their father, and two daughters, Margaret and Catherine. Margaret espoused Frederic, duke of Saxony, and Catherine became the wife of Charles, margrave of Baden.

Frederic, the eldest son of Ernest, whose long reign forms a new æra in the history of the house of Austria, and from whom descended an uninterrupted succession of emperors, till the extinction of the male line, on the death of Charles VI., was born in 1415, at Inspruck, during the irruption of Ernest into the Tyrol. Being only nine years of age at the death of his father, he was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Frederic, and on attaining his

majority, in 1436, assumed the government of the Styrian territories.

In imitation of his father, he was no sooner emancipated from his guardians than he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he received the order of Cyprus, and of the Holy Sepulchre. So eager was he to gratify his curiosity, that he accompanied some Jew merchants, in disguise, into the Turkish territories, examined with attention the manners and customs of a people so different from the Christian world, and collected jewels and other valuable curiosities. Of this pilgrimage the celebrated Æneas Sylvius thus speaks in his oration to pope Nicholas V., when he was recommending a crusade against the infidels. "The princes of the sublime house of Austria, which ranks among its members many kings and emperors, deemed themselves secure of success only when they served the Supreme Being with fidelity and constancy. Frederic, following their example, was no sooner delivered from the care of his guardians than, despising the dangers and tempests of the deep, he repaired to Jerusalem, anxious to kiss the earth sanctified by the footsteps of our blessed Redeemer. He visited the sepulchre of our Lord, beheld Mount Calvary, and the palace of Pilate, and ascended the Mount of Olives. He entered the desert; crossed the river Jordan; reached Bethlehem; penetrated into the valley of Jehoshaphat; and, by the sight of these sacred places, was inspired with an incredible and ardent devotion."

At the age of twenty, Frederic assumed the reins of government as duke of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in conjunction with his brother Albert. On the death of his uncle Frederic of Tyrol, in 1435, he became guardian of Sigismond, and, on the decease of the emperor Albert, was appointed regent by the states of Austria, and guardian of Ladislaus Posthumus.

The imperial throne being vacant by the death of Albert II., the electors nominated Louis landgrave of Hesse; and that prince declining the crown, their choice unanimously fell on Frederic, as the eldest member of his illustrious house; but he hesitated to accept a dignity,

however exalted, which was surrounded by difficulties and dangers.

Germany was divided into a few large sovereignties, numerous principalities, and petty states, whose perpetual contests rendered the whole country a scene of discord and hostility. Private wars had indeed been repeatedly interdicted by the mandates of the emperors, and the decrees of the diet; but such prohibitions scarcely awed the petty states, while the greater princes often bade defiance to the control of the laws, and the authority of their chief. The imperial dignity itself was little more than an empty title; its prerogatives had been gradually circumscribed, and the greater part of the domains and revenues had been alienated by Charles IV. The emperor was unable to levy any subsidy, or raise any force, without the consent of the diet, and his most urgent demands were often rejected, or, if granted, seldom carried into execution. The state of Germany at the accession of Frederic is well described by an eye-witness, and competent judge. "Although," says Æneas Sylvius, in his celebrated address to the Germans, "you acknowledge the emperor for your king and master, he possesses but a precarious sovereignty; he has no power; you only obey him when you choose; and you are seldom inclined to obey. You are all desirous to be free: neither the princes nor states render to him what is due; he has no revenues, no treasure. Hence you are involved in endless contests, and daily wars; hence also rapine, murder, conflagrations, and a thousand evils which arise from divided authority." The schism in the church threatened to augment these disorders; and the prudence and power of Albert had alone prevented Germany from being visited by the evils of religious discord. When, therefore, we view the deplorable state of Germany, and consider the weakness of the imperial power, and the troubles in Hungary and Bohemia, we cease to wonder that a studious, indolent, and unwarlike prince like Frederic, should hesitate to accept the crown of the empire, or that he should deliberate three months before he announced his acquiescence in the wish of the electors. He was accordingly chosen king of the Romans on the 2d of February, 1440, at the diet of Frankfort.

At this time also Frederic was involved in contests with a turbulent and ambitious brother; and their discordant characters and opposite pursuits threatened a renewal of those domestic broils which had already proved so fatal to the interests of their house. Frederic was cold, cautious, phlegmatic, and parsimonious; Albert, of a frank, convivial, and lively disposition, affable and courteous in his manners, and liberal even to profusion. Ardent for military glory, he sought and despised fatigues and dangers; while Frederic was exploring the secrets of nature, or absorbed in the pursuits of learning, Albert graced the dance and the revel, or triumphed in the tournament. His profusion rendered him needy, his restless spirit ambitious; and, despising the ties of blood, or the interests of his family, he opened his career by an attack against his brother, to obtain an independent portion of the inheritance. In the midst of the embarrassments which occupied the attention of Frederic during the first year after his elevation to the imperial dignity, Albert united with the count of Cilli, whose dominions were comprehended within the duchy of Styria; and, with a force of 8000 men, invaded Carniola, and laid siege to Laybach. The inhabitants, in a vigorous sally, captured his tents and baggage, and made a spirited resistance, till his troops becoming clamorous for their pay, he retired, leaving them to pillage and devastate the country. The meek and pacific Frederic averted the storm, by yielding to its force; he purchased the evacuation of his dominions, by paying 70,000 ducats to the troops, and pacified his brother by yielding to him, for six years, the administration and revenues of the exterior provinces, which he held as guardian to Sigismond.

These domestic embarrassments, and his struggles in Bohemia, having detained Frederic in the Austrian dominions, he did not receive the imperial crown till two years after his election, although he had summoned a diet at Mentz, for the purpose of pacifying the empire, and reforming the abuses of the church. On the 15th of June, 1442, he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and repairing to Frankfort, opened his second diet in person. But the indolence of his character, and want of power, as well as the turbulent spirit of the German princes, pre-

vented the renewal of the wise and vigorous regulations established by the emperor Albert, particularly for the suppression of private warfare, and the division of Germany into circles; on the contrary, only a trifling law was instituted for the amelioration of the public coin, some inconsiderable restraints imposed on the secret tribunals of Westphalia, and the article of the Golden Bull renewed, which authorised private warfare, provided it was declared three days before the commencement of hostilities. These petty regulations have improperly obtained the pompous title of "the reformation of the emperor Frederic."

During his continuance at Frankfort, Frederic endeavoured to avail himself of the divisions subsisting among the Swiss Cantons, and to attempt the recovery of the dominions which had been wrested from the house of Austria. The contest which had arisen for the succession to the Tockenburgh, had terminated unfavourably for Zurich; for Schweitz and Glarus had gained the widow and the collateral heirs of the count, and, by intrigue or persuasion, had finally succeeded in obtaining the support of the other confederates; Zurich, invested and pressed on all sides, was reduced to accept their mediation, and submit to the award of the five remaining cantons. The town relinquished all its pretensions to every part of the succession of the house of Tockenburgh, renounced the co-burghership of the county of Sargans, and yielded to Schweitz, Pfeffikon, and Wolrau, with their dependencies, which border on the Upper March; Schweitz and Glarus were to retain Utznach, and the lordship of Windeck; Schweitz received the Upper March, and the county of Sargans was adjudged to Henry of Werdenberg.

The burghers of Zurich, irritated by the loss of their territories, and the disgrace to which they had been reduced, were eager to avenge themselves; they sent ambassadors to Frederic to apologise for their incursions into the county of Sargans during the war, and offered to purchase his alliance, by restoring the county of Kyburgh. Frederic eagerly accepted the offer; as head of the house of Austria, he concluded an alliance with them on the very day of his coronation, and secretly promised to assist them

in recovering a part of the Tockenburgh inheritance. In pursuance of the views with which he had formed this alliance, he refused to confirm the liberties of the Swiss states, unless they restored the Argau, and hoped to animate the zeal of his partisans, and awe his enemies, by a progress through Helvetia. His arrival at Zurich was marked with every demonstration of joy and respect. He afterwards visited the remnant of the Austrian possessions in Switzerland, received the oath of allegiance from the burghers of Rapperschwyl and Friburgh, and accepted the voluntary homage of the citizens of Winterthur and Diesenhofen, who renounced their privileges, and again acknowledged the sovereignty of the house of Austria. In his progress through the Argau, he indulged his feelings with contemplating the remains of the citadel of Baden; he offered up his devotions at the tombs of his ancestors, who reposed at Konigsfelden, and as he rode over the adjacent plain, he cast a melancholy eye on the dismantled turrets of the castle of Hapsburgh, the cradle of his illustrious family.

The confederates, jealous of his intentions, and suspicious of his new connection, required Zurich to renounce her alliance with the house of Austria, as contrary to an article of the union, stipulating that no connection was to be formed by any canton with other powers, except by common consent. The refusal was the signal for war; the neutral cantons endeavoured by their mediation to prevent a rupture; but the people of Schweitz impatiently raised their banner, and being joined by the contingent of Glarus, sent a declaration of hostilities, and broke down the bridge of Rapperschwyl. Soon afterwards, a detachment of the Austrians and Zurichers, having crossed the lake to Freyenbach, were attacked by a corps of Swiss; and after a long contest, in which both parties equally suffered, were repulsed, and driven back to their boats. The sword being thus drawn, the forces of Glarus and Schweitz secured the head of the lake near Utznach, and the citizens of Zurich fortified their frontier with a line of entrenchments across the Hirtzel. At the same time 5000 troops, principally Austrians, scaled the Albis, and descended through Cappel to Blinkendorf, with a view to penetrate

into the canton of Schweitz; but discovering the three banners of Zug, Uri, and Underwalden, they made a precipitate retreat, and did not stop till they reached the gates of Zurich. In the spring of 1443, the confederates advanced against the Hirtzel, mounted the steep at the close of evening, and after a bloody conflict, succeeded in forcing the lines. Descending along the border of the lake, they overran the territories of Zurich, and being joined by the troops of Bern at Lankaffen, took Bremgarten, Baden, and Old and New Regensberg; they then advanced along the northern side of the lake, made themselves masters of Gummingen, and extended their incursions to Old and New Rapperschwyl.

After a short repose, they again raised their banners, assembled at Hedingen, forced the passes of the Albis, and in July 1443, advanced towards Zurich. On their approach, the burghers, without distinction of rank or age, crossed the Sill, and drew up in a meadow near the chapel of St. Jacob; but being struck with a panic, gave way, and fled in confusion towards the town. Stussi, the venerable and brave burgomaster was slain in defending the bridge singly against the enemy*, and a part of the confederates entering the town with the fugitives, even captured the banner of Zurich in the streets. The burghers at length recovering from their panic, mounted the walls, and repulsed the assailants; but the confederates burnt and pillaged the suburbs, destroyed the neighbouring villages, and ravaged the country as far as Kilchberg. Leaving garrisons in the captured places, they again retired; and the remainder of the year, with the commencement of the next, were passed in attempts to put an end to this dreadful warfare. The people of Zurich, however, buoyed up by the hopes of assistance from the house of Austria, and exasperated by their losses and disgrace, rejected all proposals for peace, and the contest was renewed on the advance of spring. The confederates being joined by the people of Appenzel and Tockenburgh, again took the field, captured Greiffensee, and invested Zurich itself; while a body marching into the Frickthal, laid siege

* The circumstances which distinguished the death of this heroic chief are ably delineated by Planta, vol. i. p. 449.

to Farnsberg, a fortress belonging to the lords of Falkenstein, who had joined the house of Austria.

In this distress the burghers of Zurich claimed the promised assistance from Frederic, who had been recalled to Vienna by the troubles in Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, and had intrusted the conduct of the war to his brother Albert, and the margrave of Baden, his prefect in Suabia. But unable to assist his allies, the emperor appealed in vain to the states of Germany, who refused to concur in a private war for the interests of the house of Austria. Disappointed in his expectations, he solicited from Charles VII. of France the aid of 5000 auxiliaries. Charles, who had recently concluded an armistice with England, and was burdened with a large army of mercenaries, called Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, their original leader, availed himself of this opportunity to employ his troops. Instead of 5000, an army of 30,000 men, under the dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., hastened towards the scene of action. They captured Montbeillard, and advanced to Basle, which had demanded succours from the Swiss confederates, and had on the 26th of August, 1444, arrived in the vicinity, when a body of 1600 Swiss approached. This handful of men, on reaching the plain of Brattelm, boldly charged the French advanced guard of cavalry, and drove them to Muttenz; here the French were supported by a considerable reinforcement; but the Swiss, regardless of superior numbers, repeated their charge, and drove them across the Birs. Encouraged by success, they attempted to force a passage over the bridge; being repulsed, they rushed through the river in face of the batteries, and on reaching the opposite bank, were instantly surrounded by the enemy. A part taking possession of a small island refused to surrender, and were cut to pieces; others fell in forcing their way through the hostile ranks, and the remainder threw themselves into the hospital and cemetery of St. James. The burghers endeavoured to make a sally in their favour; but the dauphin occupying an eminence which commanded the gate of the town, precluded all relief; and the walls of the cemetery being battered down by the cannon, this remnant experienced the fate of their companions. Of the whole

body not more than sixteen escaped from the field, and these, according to the ancient Spartan discipline, were branded with infamy.

This engagement, which destroyed the flower of the French army, taught the dauphin to dread and respect the valour of the Swiss; he refused to risk his troops in prosecuting the designs of the house of Austria, retired from Switzerland, and soon afterwards concluded a peace with the Helvetic confederates in the name of his father. But to remunerate himself for the expenses of the armament, and to gratify his mercenaries with plunder, he marched into the Austrian territories, occupied several towns in Alsace and Brisgau, and overran the bishoprics of Loraine. The invasion of these countries, and the enormities perpetrated by his troops, at length overcame the apathy of Frederic, and roused the resentment of the German states. A diet being assembled at Nuremberg, war was declared against the French, if they should refuse to quit the territories of the empire, and an army was voted, to be intrusted to the command of Louis, elector palatine. Before, however, the commencement of hostilities, an accommodation was effected through the mediation of the archbishops of Cologne and Treves, and the dauphin quitted the territories of the empire, after extorting the humiliating condition, that the Germans should demand no compensation for the damages they had sustained. The retreat of the Armagnacs, however, did not re-establish the peace of Alsace; for the troops of the elector palatine plundered the estates of the nobles and towns who favoured the French, while the Austrians committed similar excesses on the territory of Basle, which was in alliance with the Swiss. These outrages were retaliated on the subjects and allies of the house of Austria, and the whole country became a scene of devastation and carnage.

Notwithstanding the retreat of the French, the Swiss confederates raised the siege of Zurich, and the war continued for several years, with alternate successes and defeats. Hostilities were no longer confined to the territories of Zurich, but extended through the Gaster, the county of Sargans, and in the vicinity of the Rhine. The Austrians

surpassed their usual exertions, and the burghers of Zurich did not disgrace that spirit which had ever animated the Helvetic states. The people of Basle having joined the confederates, and united with the forces of Bern and the burghers of Soleure, captured Rheinfelden, besieged Seckingen, and devastated Alsace and the Brisgau. On the other hand, Albert, at the head of the Austrian troops, distinguished himself in this predatory warfare; he checked the excursions of the troops of Basle, spread alarm even to their gates, and captured and destroyed many strong places belonging to the city and its allies. But the war raged with the greatest fury on the borders of the lake of Zurich, and in the county of Sargans. The Austrians having gained George, count of Sargans, retook Sargans and Wallenstadt, and though defeated in various encounters, particularly by the people of Glarus, at the battle of Ragatz, they recovered and retained possession of the county. The garrison of Rapperschwyl supported the distresses of a long and arduous siege with uncommon spirit and fortitude, and the exertions of the burghers of Zurich were no longer marked by a series of losses and defeats: they recovered the honour of their arms in various encounters by land, and after numerous and obstinate contests, succeeded in destroying the vessels of Schweitz, and gaining the mastery of the lake.

The war had now raged for four years with a degree of fury and animosity which is only displayed in civil broils; till both parties, fatigued with their exertions, and recoiling from the enormities which they had committed, equally panted for the termination of the contest. The dispute being submitted to arbitration, a peace was arranged in May, 1447, between the house of Austria, Zurich, and the other Swiss confederates. Affairs on both sides were to be restored to the same situation as before the renewal of hostilities; but Zurich renounced her alliance with the house of Austria; and thus the grand principle of the Helvetic confederacy, that no league was valid unless concluded with the consent of the other cantons, was acknowledged and established. At the same time, arbitrators were chosen to the dispute between the house of Austria and Basle; but the war was prolonged by the refusal of the

burghers to dismiss the council. They at length yielded to the threats of Frederic, who menaced them with the ban of the empire; and after various skirmishes, and the recovery of Rheinfelden by the Austrians, an accommodation was effected in 1449, which placed both parties in the same situation as before the commencement of hostilities.

Ch. XVI.—FREDERIC III. EMPEROR.—1441–1452.

Frederic had not personally engaged in any of the contests in Switzerland, as well because he was averse to the fatigues and hazards of a military life, as because he was employed in healing the schism of the church, and settling the disputes between the pope and the states of Germany.

In no transaction was the address of Frederic more distinguished, than in his endeavours to heal the schism of the church; although he has been bitterly censured for not asserting the authority of the empire, and carrying into execution the regulations which had been established under Albert. With this view the diet of Mentz was assembled in 1441, and although the emperor did not assist in person, a resolution was passed, that the two councils of Basle and Florence should be dissolved, and another assembled in a different town; and that if neither of the popes would name a place, the king of the Romans was empowered to fix on six towns in Germany, and six in France, from which a choice was to be made. The states likewise digested and confirmed the decrees of the council of Basle, which had been already accepted; and agreed to acknowledge no pontiff, who should refuse to sanction them, or to abolish the annates, provisions, and charges for palliums, and relinquish the right of alternate presentation to vacant benefices, which the see of Rome claimed and exercised jointly with the chapters of Germany. These resolutions displeased both parties: the council of Basle, with Felix, rejected regulations which tended to invalidate their authority, and Eugenius endeavoured to elude the proposals, by offering to summon a meeting of prelates from all parts of Christendom, in order to *deliberate* on the necessity of calling

a new council. This affair was resumed in the subsequent diet at Frankfort; and finally confirmed in that of Nuremberg, which assembled in 1444.

During these transactions Frederic had maintained an apparent neutrality; but as he was anxious to be crowned at Rome, he was secretly inclined to effect the dissolution of the council of Basle, and establish the authority of the Roman pontiff. In his progress through Switzerland, he exhorted the fathers at Basle to agree to an accommodation with Eugenius, and refused to acknowledge Felix, who tempted him with the offer of his daughter Margaret*, the most beautiful princess of the age, in marriage, with a portion of 200,000 crowns. He seems also to have acquired the confidence of Eugenius, by means of his secretary the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, whom he despatched to Rome, with the consent of the electors, under pretence of obtaining the acquiescence of the pope in the wishes of the German nation.

Eugenius, encouraged by his knowledge of the emperor's private sentiments, far from acceding to the propositions of the diet, even ventured to depose the electors of Treves and Cologne, who had distinguished themselves as strenuous adherents of the council of Basle, and conferred their sees on two of his partisans, John, bishop of Cambray, and Adolphus, prince of Cleves. This arbitrary measure excited general indignation in Germany; the deposed electors appealed to the emperor and empire, and claimed the support of their co-brothers in virtue of the electoral union. A new confederacy was accordingly formed at Frankfort in 1446; the electors engaged not to submit to Eugenius, until he had acknowledged the supremacy of general councils, and convoked a new council at Constance, Strasburgh, Worms, Mentz, or Treves, to meet the first of May the ensuing year; and until he had formally approved the decrees of the council of Basle, accepted by Albert, and annulled all innovations since the neutrality.

This union was secretly concluded, and the six counsellors, to whom it was communicated, were sworn not to divulge it; but Frederic, who was not not bound by a

* She was widow of Louis of Anjou, titular king of Naples

similar restriction, privately imparted the intelligence to Eugenius, by means of Æneas Sylvius, and strongly recommended moderation. His intervention was, however, at first without effect; for Eugenius treated the ambassadors with a haughtiness and contempt worthy of his most arrogant predecessors; and a diet being assembled at Frankfort, the electors were so highly exasperated by the reception of their ambassadors, that they were inclined to acknowledge Felix. An open rupture between the empire and the church, was prevented by the mediation of Frederic, and the intrigues of his adroit secretary. Æneas Sylvius repaired to Germany, and by the distribution of bribes *, as well as by address and promises, gained the archbishop of Mentz, the principal members of the German hierarchy, and the elector of Brandenburgh, and obtained their consent to a modification of the electoral union, from which was expunged the "poison," as he termed it, or the articles and expressions obnoxious to the pope. Notwithstanding the opposition of the electors of Treves, Cologne, and Saxony, Frederic persuaded the imperial party to send another embassy to Rome; Æneas Sylvius, who accompanied them, gained the cardinals by the same arts which he had before employed in Germany, and finally, by his arguments and remonstrances, obtained the consent of the pope to the principal conditions which he had settled with the electors. Eugenius graciously received the German ambassadors, and published a bull, by which he agreed to restore the deposed electors, on their return to obedience; to accept the decrees of the council of Constance, in the same manner as his predecessors had done, and to convene a new council within twenty-eight months; he also acknowledged the *authority*, without admitting the *supremacy* of a general council. He also promised to send a legate into Germany, in order to effect an accommodation relative to the decrees of the council of Basle, adopted by the diet, and the compensation allowed for the diminution of the papal revenues.

* We are informed by Æneas Sylvius, in his history of this curious transaction, from which the account in the text is principally drawn, that the money with which he gained the electors was supplied by Frederic, and afterwards repaid by Nicholas V.

The German princes were satisfied with this declaration, acknowledged Eugenius, and renounced their neutrality.

Eugenius survived the reconciliation only a few days, for he died on the 15th of February, 1447, and his successor Nicholas V., affecting a readiness to complete the great work begun by his predecessor, was acknowledged by the emperor and empire, and sent a legate into Germany. With the connivance and concurrence of Frederic, he modified some of the articles most detrimental to the interests of the Roman see, and terminated the dispute by the celebrated Concordates, which were arranged and promulgated at Aschaffenburgh, by his legate. In regard to the authority of a general council, and the convocation of a new council, he confirmed the declaration of Eugenius; but instead of accepting an equivalent for the diminution of the papal revenues, he resumed the annates and charges for palliums; he likewise retained the right of alternate presentation to benefices, but changed the alternation from benefices to months. These Concordates disappointed the hopes of those princes who were anxious to reform the abuses of the church; but their remonstrances were disregarded, and by the influence of the emperor the act was confirmed in 1448 by the diet.

The peace and union of the church were soon afterwards restored by the abdication of Felix, and the dissolution of the council of Basle. Frederic revoking the safe conduct which he had granted to the fathers, and threatening them with the ban of the empire, if they persisted in holding their sittings, they repaired to Lausanne. A meeting was then held at Lyons, between the ambassadors of France and England, and those of Treves, Cologne, and Saxony, with the cardinal of Arles, the president of the council of Basle; and at their instigation Felix was induced to abdicate his dignity. He was nominated by Nicholas legate a latere, and papal vicar-general in Savoy, with an annual pension; and the council of Lausanne, being allowed to declare the Roman see vacant, elected Nicholas, and soon afterwards dispersed.

Against this accommodation it has been urged, with great force and acrimony, that Frederic sacrificed the interests of Germany to his desire of conciliating the pope.

But when we consider on one side the high demands of the electors, on the other the principle of the Roman Church to resist all innovation; when we appreciate the scanty possessions and power of Frederic, and the little reliance he could place on the support of the empire; we ought rather to applaud his address and good fortune, in persuading both parties to recede, in some degree, from their respective pretensions, than to blame him for terminating a controversy which would have augmented the schism of the church, and might have exposed him to the loss of the imperial crown.

During these events, Frederic had negotiated a marriage with Eleonora, daughter of Edward, king of Portugal, and niece of Alphonso of Naples, and having healed the schism of the church, tranquillised Germany, and pacified his own dominions, he was anxious to repair to Rome, in order to receive the imperial crown, and the nuptial benediction from the pope. It had been the usual custom for the king of the Romans to enter Italy at the head of a considerable army, and after being crowned king of Lombardy, at Monza, by the archbishop of Milan, to repair to Rome. But the situation of Italy seemed to oppose insuperable obstacles to a prince who possessed so small a military force, and who drew so little support from the princes of the empire, as Frederic.

The states of Italy had emerged from disorganisation and anarchy, and had laid the foundation of that political system which afterwards gave rise to the code of public law, and the balance of power in Europe. The petty lordships and puny republics had been gradually swallowed up, or sunk into insignificance, and the chief authority was divided between the pope as a temporal prince, the king of Naples and Sicily, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the dukes of Milan and Savoy.

Among these, Milan deserves the principal notice, in consequence of the disputed succession, and the claims of Frederic as head of the empire. On the death of Philip-Maria, the last of the Visconti, without legitimate issue, 1447, his dominions were coveted by various pretenders. Frederic, as head of the empire, considered the duchy as a vacant fief, and sent ambassadors to the senate of Milan,

asserting his rights; Charles duke of Orleans, claimed the duchy as son of Valentina, sister of the deceased duke; and Alphonso, king of Arragon and Naples, in consequence of a supposed testamentary bequest. The Venetians also, who had greatly extended their continental territories, were desirous to acquire Cremona, Lodi, and Placentia; and the house of Savoy were anxious to recover Vercelli, of which they had been despoiled by Philip-Maria, and to appropriate Novarra, Alessandria, and Tortona. The duchy itself was a dreadful scene of internal commotion, and divided into as many parties as there were pretenders to the succession. The capital aspired to independence, and to establish a republic; and other towns, particularly Pavia and Parma, were desirous of following the example. Asti acknowledged the duke of Orleans; Novarra and Vercelli the duke of Savoy; the army of Venice occupied the heart of the territory, and had secured Cremona, Lodi, and Placentia; the party of Alphonso had obtained the Rochetta and the citadel of Milan; and the troops of Florence and Naples, as allies of Venice, hovered on the frontiers.

While these rival pretensions threatened a total dismemberment of the duchy, the prize was secured by a soldier of fortune, whose claims were founded on his marriage with Biancha-Maria, natural daughter of Philip-Maria; but whose most efficient title was the sword. Francis Sforza was the natural son of Jacomuzzo Sforza, a condottiere or leader of mercenaries, who, from the condition of a peasant, had risen to the highest command in the service of Joan II., queen of Naples. Francis inherited his father's talents and prowess, and although only twenty-four on his death, succeeded to the command of the adventurers who followed his standard. He greatly distinguished himself in the contests for the crown of Naples between Alphonso of Arragon and the house of Anjou; becoming afterwards general of the league which the pope and the republics of Venice and Florence formed against Philip-Maria, he defeated the Milanese troops in several engagements; but from pique or interest, entering into the service of the duke of Milan, he again turned the scale of victory. He was alternately favoured and disgraced by the

suspicious sovereign of Milan; sometimes commanded his troops against the neighbouring states; sometimes led his enemies to victory, and was engaged in a treaty with Philip-Maria, when his sudden death opened to the fortunate adventurer the prospect of acquiring the duchy of Milan.

Surrounded by contenders for the succession, the senate saw no other resource to maintain their new-modelled republic, except the military skill of Sforza; they accordingly invested him with the command of their forces, and victory, as usual, followed his standard. He took Pavia and Placentia; defeated the Venetian flotilla on the Po; and, in one of the most memorable engagements of the age, totally discomfited their army under the walls of Caravaggio. These rapid successes, and perhaps the views which he could not conceal, exciting the jealousy of his new masters, they endeavoured to deprive him of the command. Sforza therefore united himself with the Venetians, obtained their support by promising the cession of the territory beyond the Adige, and turned his arms against the government of Milan. Notwithstanding the opposition of the house of Savoy, and the desertion of his principal adherents, he maintained a powerful army; defeated the troops of Savoy; in the course of two campaigns he made himself master of the principal places in the Milanese territories, and finally blockaded the capital itself. His successes deprived him of his allies; for the Venetians entered into a confederacy with the citizens of Milan. Sforza, with no less expedition, concluded a treaty with the duke of Savoy and the Florentines, prevented the Venetians from relieving Milan, and at length reduced it to such extremities, that the populace rose, and forced the government to admit him as their sovereign. He accordingly made his entry on the 26th of February, 1450, and secured by prudence and address a dignity which he had acquired by courage and abilities.

The Venetians, by taking an active part in all the contests of Italy, and by acts of heroism, as well as by deeds of atrocious perfidy, had exterminated the house of Carrara, and appropriated its extensive territories, besides considerable accessions from the dukes of Milan, and dismember-

ments from less considerable states. From a jealousy of Francis Sforza, they affected the warmest devotion to the emperor, though they dreaded lest he should reclaim, as fiefs of the empire, their recent acquisitions; they therefore offered him an honourable passage through their territories; but at the same time refused to admit him with an army, or even with a considerable military escort. Florence, which at this period began to rise into celebrity, was actuated by the same principles as Venice; and the dominions of the house of Savoy were too distant to enable them either to thwart the intentions of Frederic, or afford him support.

The violent contests between the houses of Anjou and Arragon, which for a period of ten years had convulsed the kingdom of Naples, had terminated by the ascendency of Alphonso the Magnificent, king of Arragon and Sicily, who seated himself on the throne, and acquired the love of his subjects. He had interfered in the contests of the north of Italy, had engaged in frequent hostilities against Philip-Maria Visconti, and was at this period united in a league with the pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines, against Francis Sforza. He had maintained a friendly intercourse with the house of Austria, and the connection was strengthened by the marriage which he had recently negotiated between Frederic and his niece, the princess of Portugal. Contrary to the policy of the former kings of Naples, he was the only sovereign in Italy who was favourably inclined towards the head of the empire, and sincerely disposed to promote his journey.

A considerable obstacle yet remained, which was derived from the conduct and disposition of the pope. Nicholas was desirous to enjoy the honour of crowning an emperor; but he was apprehensive lest a young monarch, closely allied in blood and friendship with the king of Naples, should imitate the example of his predecessors, by endeavouring to make himself master of Rome, and revive the claims of the empire on the patrimony of the church. His fears were aggravated by ridiculous prophecies, one of which foretold that Frederic III. was to become master of Rome; and another, that in the course of the ensuing March the pope would either be imprisoned or die. These fears pre-

vailing over his ambition, he even sent ambassadors to divert the emperor from pursuing his journey into Italy, urging the extreme scarcity of all necessaries, and the impracticability of the roads during winter. But Æneas Sylvius, who was intimately acquainted with the weakness of the pontiff, partly by threats, partly by promises, and partly by argument and ridicule, overcame his reluctance; and as Frederic continued his journey, the pope at length consented to receive him at Rome, and hypocritically testified his impatience to meet the head of the empire.

At the close of 1451, Frederic took his departure from Gratz, accompanied by his ward Ladislaus, and his brother Albert, and attended by a numerous suite of German princes and prelates, and an escort of horse. He passed through Verona and Padua to Ferrara. Here he received overtures from Francis Sforza, who proposed to accept the investiture of the Milanese as an imperial fief, and invited him to receive the crown of Lombardy at Monza, according to ancient custom. But Frederic, unwilling to relinquish his pretensions to the duchy, or perhaps considering such a compliance as a degradation of the imperial dignity, declined his overtures, and proceeded by Bologna and Florence to Rome. He met his intended bride at Sienna, and before he entered the papal territories took an oath of fidelity, or rather of submission to the pope.*

His expenses were defrayed, and on his route the Italians received him with the respect due to his high dignity. An eye-witness says of the Paduans, that they fell prostrate at his feet; and if the Divinity himself had descended from

* This oath was as follows:—"I Frederic, king of the Romans, promise and swear, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the wood of the vivifying cross, and by these relics of saints, that if, by permission of the Lord, I shall come to Rome, I will exalt the holy church, and his holiness who presides over it, to the utmost of my power. Neither shall he lose life, limb, or honour, by my counsel, consent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law or decree touching those things which belong to his holiness, or the Romans, without his consent. Whatever part of St. Peter's patrimony shall fall into our hands, we will restore it to his holiness; and he to whom we shall commit the administration of the kingdom of Italy, shall swear to assist his holiness in defending St. Peter's patrimony to the utmost of his power. So help me God, and his holy Evangelists."—Fugger, p. 575.

heaven, they could not have paid him more honours; but these marks of respect and affection were occasionally blended with a contempt and licentiousness, from which the escort of Frederic was too feeble to protect him. At Viterbo, as he was passing through the streets in solemn procession and great splendour, a violent tumult took place. When he approached the palace destined for his residence, some young men, seated on an elevated place, grappled with iron hooks the cloth of gold under which he rode, and in their struggle for the prize tore it to pieces; even some of the papal soldiers, instigated by this licentious example, endeavoured to seize his horse, and others still more presumptuous attempted to snatch off his hat, which was adorned with a jewel of great value. In the midst of this tumult, Frederic, with more spirit than accorded with his phlegmatic character, turned towards the legates, and said, "We must repel force by force." Snatching a staff from one of his domestics, he disengaged himself from his assailants, put spurs to his horse, and charged the populace, overturning all who stood in his way. The legates followed his example, and the gentlemen of his retinue drawing their swords, rushed in among the crowd; but the confusion lasted an hour before the populace were dispersed. The governor, who was the pope's nephew, committing several of the most seditious to prison, Frederic interposed in their behalf, and obtained their release.

From Viterbo proceeding to Rome, he was met by the whole college of cardinals at some distance from the capital, passed the night under a tent without the walls, and made his public entry the ensuing morning. He himself, as well as his whole suite, submitted to kiss the hand and foot of the pope, who was seated on an ivory throne, on the flight of steps leading to St. Peter's, surrounded by the college of cardinals, and in all the pomp of ecclesiastical dignity. On the 16th of March, 1452, Frederic received the crown of Lombardy from the pope, and on the 19th the crown of the empire, with the hand of his bride.* At the same time he joined with the pope in ratifying the German concordates, and after his coronation, knighted his ward Ladislaus, his

* Frederic has been called Frederic IV., and V., but he assumed, as he was in reality, the title of Frederic III.

brother Albert, and three hundred persons of distinction, on the bridge of the Tyber.

From Rome, the emperor proceeded to the court of Alphonso, king of Naples, who received him with the cordiality of a relation, and the respect due to the head of the empire. Here, at the earnest persuasion of that monarch, he at length ventured to consummate his marriage, which he had hitherto deferred with the phlegm and superstition which marked his character; from an apprehension that a child begotten in Italy might resemble the Italians. After passing some time in carousals and nuptial festivity, he was summoned to Germany by the rising troubles in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. At Ferrara he invested Borso d'Este, marquis of Ferrara, with the duchies of Modena and Reggio, as imperial fiefs, and conferred the honour of knighthood on Galeas Sforza, who brought magnificent presents, and professions of submission from his father. Descending the Po, he was met at its mouth by the Venetian flotilla, and embarking on board the Bucentaur, was conveyed with naval and military pomp to Venice, from whence, after passing ten days in regal festivity, he pursued his route to Gratz.

Frederic having secured the imperial title by his coronation at Rome, exalted his family by confirming the archducal title, which had been assumed and afterwards relinquished by Rhodolph IV. He thus raised the house of Austria to a dignity only inferior to that of the electors, and invested it with privileges greater than those possessed by any other prince of the empire. The grant was capriciously founded on letters patent of Julius Cæsar and Nero, and the diplomes of Frederic I., Henry VI., and Frederic II., in favour of the Bamberg line, confirmed by Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, when he invested his two sons with the Austrian territories. In virtue of these privileges, the archdukes of Austria were to be considered as having obtained the investiture of their dominions, if they did not receive it after thrice demanding it from the emperor. They were not to be required to pass the limits of their territories, but were to be invested within the borders of Austria on horseback, clad in a regal mantle, wearing a ducal coronet surmounted with the imperial diadem and

cross, and holding a staff of command. The archdukes were declared by birth privy-counsellors of the emperor, and their territories could not be put under the ban of the empire. All attempts against their persons were to be punished as crimes of high treason; and they could not be challenged to single combat: they were exempted from the necessity of attending at the diet, and from all contributions and public charges, except the maintenance of twelve men-at-arms for one month against the Turks in Hungary; they were empowered to levy taxes, to grant letters of legitimation, and to create counts, barons, and other inferior titles; in failure of issue male, the females were to enjoy the right of succession, and in failure of heirs, the archdukes were allowed to dispose of their territories by will. Any lands of the empire might he alienated in their favour, and their subjects could not be summoned out of their territories on account of lawsuits, to give testimony, or to receive the investiture of fiefs.

CHAP. XVII. 1452—1475.

WE have already detailed the contests of Frederic with the states of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, and the troubles in which he involved himself, in consequence of his refusal to deliver up his ward, Ladislaus Posthumus; and after his return into Germany, his whole reign was little more than a continued series of distresses, difficulties, and embarrassments.

On the death of count Cilli, Frederic was involved in a dispute with Ladislaus, relative to the succession, which he claimed as a part of the duchy of Styria, and in virtue of ancient compacts with the family; while Ladislaus grounded his pretensions on his descent from the sister of the deceased. On receiving the intelligence, the emperor, with 200 horse, repaired to Cilli, and by bribing the governor, John of Wickovitz, obtained possession of the town; but Wickovitz having estates in Hungary, was easily seduced by Ladislaus, and returning with a superior force, attempted

to surprise the emperor, who with difficulty escaped into the castle. Frederic lost a considerable treasure, and even the imperial signet; and his chancellor, with most of his suite and escort, were made prisoners. He was besieged eight days by the bold and successful governor, and was at length released by the approach of a body of troops from Styria. Ladislaus thus obtained possession of the town and fortress, with the county, which he held till his death, when Frederic, succeeding to the Austrian territories, incorporated it with the duchy of Styria.

The death of Ladislaus Posthumus would probably have secured to a prince of a more firm and enterprising disposition the possession of Austria, with the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; but that event involved Frederic in a series of disputes and contests which scarcely terminated with his reign. The recent breaches in the regular law of succession, and the compacts between the collateral branches of the house of Austria, furnished a pretext for new disputes relative to the family inheritance. Frederic claimed the whole duchy of Austria, as head of his house; but was strenuously opposed by his brother Albert, and by his nephew Sigismond, and, after a violent contest, it was settled by the states, in 1458, that Lower Austria should be assigned to the emperor, Upper Austria to Albert, a part of Carinthia which was contiguous to the Tyrol to Sigismond, and Vienna was to be the joint residence of the three princes. This mortifying decision, which Frederic had neither power nor abilities to prevent, was followed by a still greater disappointment in regard to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary.

Many candidates had presented themselves for the crown of Bohemia; William duke of Saxony, in virtue of his marriage with Anne, eldest sister of the deceased monarch, and Casimer king of Poland, who had espoused the younger sister; Albert, the brother of Frederic, and Sigismond of Tyrol, also opposed his pretensions, and the king of France endeavoured to influence the decision of the states either in favour of one of his sons, or of a prince who should espouse his daughter Margaret *, by promising to pay the debts of

* Margaret had been betrothed to Ladislaus Posthumus, but the solemnisation of the nuptials was prevented by his death.

the kingdom and to exact no revenue for seven years. Notwithstanding these formidable opponents, Frederic deemed himself secure of his object, as head of the house of Austria, in virtue of the family compacts with the house of Luxemburgh, and as chief of the empire, to which Bohemia reverted as a vacant fief; and his cause was supported by a considerable party of the Catholics.

The views of a prince like Frederic were easily frustrated by the policy and energy of the regent, George Podiebrad. The states having assembled at Prague for the choice of a king, Podiebrad proposed to defer the election till Whitsuntide, when the term of his regency would expire. No one dared to resist a chief who had the army at his disposal, and whose cause was espoused by the capital and the Calixtin party. The states accordingly separated on this frivolous pretext, and re-assembled at Whitsuntide. In this meeting Kokyczana, a Calixtin priest of great influence and popularity, whom Podiebrad had protected from the persecutions of Sigismond, in an eloquent speech, urged the diet not to appoint a German prince, but to raise to the throne a king of their own nation, acquainted with their language, manners, and constitution; and with a warm eulogium of the talents, patriotism, and bravery of Podiebrad, earnestly recommended him to their choice. His eloquence affected those who were not already dazzled by the splendid qualities of the regent, or awed by his power; and the states unanimously decreed him the crown, in preference to three German princes, two kings and an emperor. He was solemnly inaugurated the same day in the castle, and maintained his dignity against the efforts of internal enemies, the thunders of the Vatican, and the attacks of external aggressors.

Frederic, indignant at the preference given to a Bohemian nobleman, endeavoured to enforce his right by arms; but he derived no assistance from the states of Germany, and was weakly supported by the Bohemian Catholics, who placed little reliance on a prince of so inefficient and wavering a character. Embarrassed with domestic dissensions in Austria, and desirous to secure the crown of Hungary, he relinquished claims which he was unable to assert, and even turned to his rival for assistance. A conference being

held at Brunn, in 1459, Frederic invested George with the kingdom of Bohemia, and the two sovereigns concluded a defensive alliance against all enemies, except the pope.

Frederic now offered himself as a candidate for the throne of Hungary, and urged his right as possessor of the crown of St. Stephen, which he had retained for eighteen years. But he had few adherents: the nation was divided into two great parties, one devoted to the family of Hunniades, and headed by his brother-in-law Michael Silagni; the other by two chiefs, Ladislaus of Gara, palatine of the kingdom, and Nicholas of Wilac, waivode of Transylvania, who both aspired to the throne, and were only united by their opposition to the party of Hunniades. The states assembled at Buda, under the palatine, who had drawn together a considerable force; and at the same time Silagni, with 40,000 men, approached Pest on the opposite bank of the Danube. By the intervention of the papal legate, all parties agreed to proceed to the election of a king, and Silagni proposed Matthias Corvinus; but the states, influenced by the palatine and the waivode, disdainfully rejected the young candidate, and were preparing to separate. A severe frost enabling Silagni to transport his army across the Danube, the states, awed by 40,000 armed votes, proclaimed Matthias without a single dissenting voice, and on account of his youth and captivity *, committed to Silagni the administration of affairs. The young monarch, who was detained a prisoner at Prague, soon obtained his liberation by paying to George Podiebrad a ransom of 40,000 ducats, by agreeing to espouse his daughter, and to form an alliance between the two kingdoms. Repairing to Hungary, he was joyfully received by the people; and the first act of his reign was to despatch an embassy to Frederic, demanding the crown of St. Stephen, and threatening hostilities in case of a refusal.

Frederic, instigated by the unsuccessful party, and encouraged by the youth and inexperience of Matthias, rejected the demand, and prepared to wrest the throne from a monarch whom he contemptuously styled "The boy king." Nor did his hopes seem unfounded; for Hungary,

* Matthias had been conveyed from Vienna to Prague by Ladislaus, and on his death fell under the custody of George Podiebrad.

agitated by intestine factions, was on one side threatened with an invasion from the Turks, and on the other, ravaged by hordes of Bohemian marauders under Giskra, who had been called in by Elizabeth. Establishing themselves in the district bordering on Poland, they possessed Cassow, Sceputz, and many other towns of importance; they strengthened themselves in a mountainous country by the construction of forts and strongholds, and increased their influence by holding secret intelligence with the disaffected nobles. They had more than once baffled the brave Hunniades, and at this time the fires of their predatory detachments were frequently discerned from the walls of Buda.

Encouraged by these favourable circumstances, Frederic sent a corps of 5000 men to invade Hungary, who were joined by the waivode of Transylvania, and other magnates of considerable influence. But in this dangerous juncture Matthias gave proofs of that spirit and decision which afterwards marked his reign: he assembled the states, and obtained their consent to levy three armies; one covered the frontier on the side of Turkey, the second awed the Bohemians, and the third marched against the Austrians. A battle took place at Kormund in Styria, between the Hungarians and Austrians, and the latter gained a complete victory. This success was, however, of no advantage to Frederic; for the waivode being jealous of his Hungarian auxiliaries, or already tired of the war, withdrew his army, leaving the disaffected magnates to make their peace with Matthias. Frederic, unable to resist alone the efforts of his rival, and embarrassed by a civil war in Austria, concluded a truce, by which he agreed to restore the crown of St. Stephen on the payment of a sum of money, which was to be settled at a future diet.

The terms which had been concluded between Frederic and Albert, for the partition of Austria, and their joint residence at Vienna, gave rise to new disputes. Frederic soon became unpopular to the citizens, and the haughty nobles of Austria displayed that turbulence and discontent natural to feudal governments under an indolent sovereign. These discontents being fomented by Albert, soon broke out into open war; and although a temporary reconciliation was effected by the king of Bohemia, neither party

was sincerely desirous of peace ; the emperor was indignant at the restraints imposed on his authority ; and the rapacity of Albert was not gratified by his share of the Austrian possessions. Another and more dreadful contest ensued ; the whole country became a scene of intestine discord, and the capital itself was divided into hostile factions ; the senate, and the most moderate of the burghers, adhered to the emperor ; while the populace, headed by the burgomaster Hulzer, a restless demagogue, espoused the cause of Albert.

Frederic, alarmed for the safety of the empress, and his infant son Maximilian, who were in the citadel, appeared before the gates at the head of a body of Styrian horse. By his eloquence and address, he succeeded in conciliating the most violent of his opponents, and after an altercation which lasted three days, was admitted into the city. Refusing, however, to accede to all the demands of the disaffected, the populace again rose, pillaged the houses of his adherents, compelled him to take refuge in the citadel, and after a formal declaration of war, invested that fortress. At the same time Albert repairing to Vienna, concluded a treaty with the insurgents, and was intrusted with the conduct of the siege. But Frederic, though at the head of only two hundred men, held out with great firmness, and evinced a resolution rather to be buried under the ruins of the fortress, than surrender to his rebellious subjects. He appealed to the states of the empire, and when they were assembled at Nuremberg, a messenger arrived announcing that he was reduced to only three weeks provisions. The states displayed, indeed, a readiness to rescue him from his danger ; but the proverbial tardiness of their succours would have rendered their resolutions ineffectual, had not Frederic been relieved by the king of Bohemia, who promptly despatched his son with 5000 men, and followed, in person, with an additional force of 8000. The advance of this timely succour relieved the emperor ; both parties submitted their dispute to the arbitration of the Bohemian monarch, and the terms of an accommodation were adjusted. Both were to liberate their prisoners ; Albert was to restore the towns, fortresses, and countries which he had occupied, and to enjoy the government of

Lower Austria for eight years, on condition of paying the annual sum of 4000 ducats to the emperor.

On the conclusion of this agreement, Frederic, escorted by a thousand Bohemian horse, met his deliverer at Corn-Neuburgh; he gratefully conferred several privileges on the kingdom of Bohemia, raised the two sons of Podiebrad to the dignity of princes of the empire, and in recompence to the inhabitants of Prague, who had furnished troops on this occasion, he granted them an exemption from the tolls at Vienna, and every part of the imperial territories.

This accommodation was no less unavailing than former agreements; the hatred and suspicion of the two brothers were too inveterate to be eradicated, and the ambition of Albert too grasping to be satisfied. New disputes arose relative to the fulfilment of the terms: Albert endeavoured to appropriate Lower Austria, received the oath of allegiance from the citizens of Vienna, and made preparations for the renewal of hostilities; while Frederic procured the publication of the ban of the empire, and the sentence of excommunication from the pope against his brother. The pope, the princes of the empire, and the common friends of the two brothers, interposed to terminate this unnatural contest; but Albert rejected all offers of accommodation, and was with difficulty persuaded to conclude even a temporary armistice. In this interval, however, his arbitrary government and continual exactions had alienated the citizens of Vienna, and a strong party, among whom was even Hulzer himself, reconciled themselves with Frederic, and endeavoured to effect his restoration. Their designs being discovered, Albert sated his vengeance by condemning Hulzer to the scaffold, and by confiscating the property of the disaffected. At length Frederic was delivered from an active and turbulent rival, by the sudden death of Albert, who expired on the 4th of December, 1463, at the moment when he was preparing to renew hostilities.

While Frederic was thus employed in defending his paternal inheritance against Albert, he was equally embarrassed by contests in the empire, and threatened with the loss of the imperial crown.

Louis, elector palatine, who died in 1449, leaving an infant son Philip, his brother Frederic, surnamed the Vic-

torious, was invested with the regency during the minority of the young prince. But the country being agitated with internal dissensions, and threatened with external wars, he obtained the approbation of the states, and the consent of his brother's widow, to assume the supreme authority, with the electoral dignity, on the condition of promising never to marry, and to adopt his nephew as his heir. Although he was approved by the pope, and acknowledged by all the electors, the emperor imprudently withheld his consent, and thus incurred the resentment of a warlike, ambitious, and enterprising prince, who seized every opportunity to resist his authority, and thwart his views. He first displayed his enmity by assisting his relative, Louis duke of Bavaria Landshut, who had taken possession of Donawerth, an imperial city, in virtue of some obsolete pretensions. The emperor having complained before the diet of this breach of the peace, the Bavarian prince was declared an enemy of the empire; an army of 20,000 men was voted against him, and the command intrusted to Albert, margrave of Brandenburgh, surnamed the German Achilles. A war was, however, prevented by means of Æneas Sylvius, who filled the papal chair under the name of Pius II., and was anxious to form a crusade against the infidels. His legate Nardini united his efforts with those of Albert and Sigismond of Austria, the bishop of Eichstadt, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, and prevailed on the duke of Bavaria to promise obedience to the emperor, and to submit the affair relative to Donawerth to the princes of the empire.

Foiled in this attempt, the elector palatine exerted himself still more strenuously to gratify his resentment against the emperor. He secured the electors of Mentz and Treves, conciliated the landgrave of Hesse, the bishop of Bamberg, and other princes, and was even joined by Albert and Sigismond, the brother and cousin of Frederic. The confederate princes gained George Podiebrad by the offer of the imperial crown, and, having matured this plan, convened two diets at Egra and Nuremberg, in February and March, 1461, which were attended by the most considerable princes without the consent, and even in opposition to, the remonstrances of the emperor. They also summoned

a new diet at Frankfort, and, as a prelude to a formal deposition, sent an insolent letter to the emperor, filled with the bitterest reproaches, and attributing the distracted state of Germany to his weakness, indolence, and incapacity. They required him to fulfil the duties which he owed to God, to religion, and to the empire; reproached him with an absence of fifteen years from the diets, notwithstanding perpetual summons and entreaties; they demanded his presence at the ensuing diet of Frankfort, and threatened, in case of his refusal, "to deliberate and decide on whatsoever was necessary to promote the common good of christianity, and the welfare of the empire."

Roused by the impending danger, Frederic shook off his natural indolence; neglected no exertion or intrigue to divide his enemies; and by his ambassadors, or by circular letters, endeavoured to unite the princes of the empire in his cause. He baffled the efforts of this formidable league with no less address than good fortune. He found a steady adherent in the elector of Brandenburgh, who was equally jealous of the elector palatine, and of the king of Bohemia, and secured the elector of Saxony, although he had formed an alliance with the Bavarian house. He even found means to detach George Podiebrad, whose profession of the Calixtin doctrines had drawn on him the resentment of the see of Rome, by offering to interpose his mediation with the pope. He derived, however, his principal support from the zealous interference of Pius II., who from gratitude and interest was anxious to counteract the electoral league, and to prevent the deposition of his benefactor; and who hoped, by interfering in the troubles of Germany, to obtain the modification, if not the abrogation, of the compacts of Aschaffenburgh.

A vacancy in the see of Mentz, in 1539, presented a favourable opportunity both to the pope and the emperor to increase their influence. Two candidates presenting themselves to the chapter, Adolphus of Nassau, and Dietrich of Isenburgh, the latter obtained the majority of votes. The pope refused to confirm the choice, unless the new elector would engage not to assert the supremacy of a general council, and not to summon the imperial diets by his own authority; he also exacted for the annates, double

the sum usually paid. The ambassadors of the new elector obtained the papal ratification, by making an equivocal promise in the name of their master, and by borrowing from some Jew-brokers at Rome the additional sum required to satisfy the demands of the pope. The new elector, however, disavowed his ambassadors, and refused to discharge the loan; and at the ensuing diet of Mentz complained against the exactions of the pope, and appealed to a future council. He was accordingly excommunicated and deposed, in 1461, and the pope, with the concurrence of the majority of the chapter, nominated in his stead his former competitor, Adolphus of Nassau, whose election was approved by the emperor.

The deposed prelate found powerful protectors in the elector of palatine, and the duke of Bavaria Landshut. The emperor united in support of Adolphus, with Albert of Brandenburgh, the margrave of Baden, Ulric of Wirtemberg, the bishop of Mentz, while the greater part of the neighbouring princes and states procured the papal excommunication, and issued the ban of the empire against the Bavarian princes. The forces of the confederacy burst into the palatinate, and devastated the country; but were totally defeated by the elector palatine, at the bloody battle of Seckingen, June 30, 1462; and the margrave of Baden, with the bishop of Mentz, and the count of Werdenberg, were made prisoners. Soon afterwards the arms of Louis, duke of Bavaria, were crowned with similar success; he gained a victory at Gingen, over Albert of Brandenburgh, and even captured the imperial standard, which Frederic had sent to the margrave, as captain-general of the empire.

Notwithstanding these reverses, Adolphus obtained possession of Mentz by stratagem, and the elector palatine abandoned his projects against the emperor, and deserted the cause of Dietrich, in order to procure from the pope the confirmation of his brother Robert, who had been chosen archbishop of Cologne. He first concluded a truce, and afterwards a peace with the imperial party, and secured a compensation for the expenses of the war, by an acquisition of territory from the see of Mentz, and by the exorbitant ransoms which he extorted from his illustrious captives. The duke of Bavaria was not tardy in following

the example of his relative; by the mediation of the king of Bohemia he concluded a peace, and renounced his pretensions to Donawerth. Dietrich thus left to himself had no other alternative than to submit, and yielding the see to Adolphus, was allowed to retain the town of Hoeksh, Sleinheim, and Dieperg. The emperor reconciled himself with the duke of Bavaria, but persisted in his refusal, both to approve the peace with the elector palatine, and to acknowledge him as elector. He afterwards ineffectually fulminated against him the ban of the empire, and his impotent enmity did not expire till the death of his great and ambitious antagonist.* Frederic was thus relieved from a danger which threatened the loss of the imperial crown, but he escaped from embarrassments in Germany only to encounter new troubles in his own dominions.

These intestine dissensions and civil wars were the ostensible, if not the real cause of the wonderful apathy manifested by the German powers, in regard to the alarming and continual attack of the Turks, who having consolidated their dominions and power in Europe, by the capture of Constantinople, spread their incursions further to the west, and under the reign of Frederic made their first irruption into Germany. In fact, the pope and the emperor had often endeavoured to form a crusade against the enemies of Christendom, and the diet repeatedly voted contingents of men and money for the enterprise. Many circumstances, however, contributed to render their efforts ineffectual. The German princes were too much at enmity with each other to suspend their animosities, and too averse to their chief to comply with his requisitions; and the elector palatine spoke the sentiments of the majority when he declared that he had enemies nearer home than the Turks. It likewise cannot be denied that Frederic and the popes, however apparently zealous for the preservation

* The elector palatine died in 1476, after a wise and glorious administration, which rendered him the ornament of his age and country. He fulfilled his promise of not marrying, till within a few hours of his death, when, with the consent of his nephew, he espoused Clara Tettin, a mistress who had borne him several natural children. One of these, Louis of Bavaria, lord of Scharfeneck, was raised by Maximilian to the dignity of a count of the empire. His successors were created princes.

of Christendom, often made a Turkish war a pretext for filling their coffers, and damped the ardour of the zealous by alienating the supplies appropriated for that purpose. Frederic himself, with a narrow policy unbecoming his high station, too often regarded the aggressions of the Turks as a salutary check on his rival the king of Hungary; and even Pius II., who so zealously endeavoured to rouse the powers of Europe, defeated his own purpose by his narrow bigotry and personal resentment; for when George Podiebrad offered to head an army against the Turks, and the proposal was submitted to the German diet, the papal legate urged that it was more advantageous to Christendom to turn their arms against the heretic king than against the infidels. The sentiments of Pius were adopted with still greater zeal by his successor Paul II., who diverted the attention of Christendom by exciting a crusade against the king of Bohemia.

These intestine divisions and jarring interests, together with the indolent temper of Frederic, render his whole reign a series of projects which were never carried into execution; and the only armament from Germany which produced any real effect against the Turks was the heterogeneous multitude collected for the deliverance of Belgrade, by the zeal and eloquence of a Franciscan monk. Frederic himself was the first sufferer by this want of concert and policy. The Turks having spread their devastations over Servia and Bosnia, a corps of 10,000 crossed the Una to Moetling, on the frontiers of Carniola; a second body advanced to Neuhadel, on the Gark, and a third penetrated as far as Laybach, the capital of Carinthia. Their progress was marked by the ravages of fire and sword; they burnt every village, and even every solitary dwelling, and put to death or enslaved all the inhabitants who did not seek safety in flight. Frederic received the first intelligence of this irruption at his country residence at Lintz, where he was absorbed in his favourite pursuit of horticulture, and to use the expressions of a contemporary chronicle, "seemed more anxious to shield his plants from the frost than to defend his dominions against these barbarous invaders." His subjects, however, were not sunk into the same apathy and irresolution; in three days they assembled to the num-

ber of 20,000, and by their advance checked the progress of the infidels, who retired after having put 6000 persons to the sword, and made 8000 captives.

In 1473, the Turks again penetrated, with a still greater force, over the mountains of Carniola into Carinthia, dislodged 4000 Austrians, posted near Clagenfurth, with the loss of half their number, and after their customary devastations, retired with 20,000 prisoners. In 1475, the barbarians opened a passage into the heart of Styria, defeated a corps of Austrians under Schenck, governor-general of the province, at Rain on the Sau, and made the whole corps, with the commander and the principal officers, prisoners. After extending their ravages almost as far as Saltzburgh, they again retreated, laden as usual with booty and captives.

It is unpleasing and unnecessary to dwell on the repetition of these melancholy scenes, or to delineate the lamentable state of a country which, during the reign of Frederic, and in the short period of only twenty-seven years, was twelve times visited by so dreadful a scourge, and twelve times marked by similar scenes of devastation, carnage, and horror.

CHAP. XVIII.—1458–1489.

NOTWITHSTANDING the assistance which Frederic had derived from George Podiebrad, during the contest with Albert, and the troubles in Germany, we find him, within the course of a few years, in league with the pope and Matthias of Hungary, to dethrone his benefactor. This change was derived from the interference of the pope, and the revival of the religious troubles in Bohemia, as well as from the policy of Frederic, who endeavoured to employ and weaken his two powerful neighbours, by opposing them to each other.

We have already detailed the rise, progress, and termination of the Hussite war, and the restoration of peace, by the ratification of the compacts, which declared the Calix-

tins true sons of the Catholic church. These compacts had been confirmed by the council of Basle, as well as by Eugenius; and it was naturally to be expected that Pius II. would confirm regulations which had been established by his advice, and under his auspices, and had received the approbation of his predecessors. But he who had so strenuously opposed the encroachments of the see of Rome, and had extorted so many concessions, as necessary to maintain the peace of Christendom, had no sooner acquired the keys of St. Peter than he revived the arrogant pretensions of the church, and displayed a bigotry and intolerance which disgraced his learning and amenity of manners. Almost the first act of his reign was accordingly directed to abolish the Calixtin tenets in Bohemia, and to restore the pristine doctrines of the Catholic church.

George Podiebrad had scarcely ascended the throne before the Catholics, at the instigation of the pope, required him to fulfil his coronation oath, by expelling all heretics from the kingdom. He complied with their request, banished the Taborites, Picards, Adamites, and all other religious sects who did not profess the Catholic doctrines, and issued a decree that all his subjects should become members of the Catholic church, as communicants under one or both kinds. The Catholics, however, were not satisfied; considering the Calixtins as heretics, they entreated him to annul the compacts, or to obtain a new ratification of them from the new pope. To gratify their wishes he sent an embassy to Rome, requesting a confirmation of the compacts; but Pius, under the pretence that the compacts gave occasion to heresy, refused his ratification, and sent Fantino della Valle, as legate, to Prague. for the purpose of persuading the king to prohibit the administration of the communion under both kinds.

In consequence of this legation the king called a diet, at which the legate and the bishops of Olmutz and Breslau were present. The ill success of the embassy to Rome having been announced, he said, "I am astonished, and cannot divine the intentions of the pope. The compacts were the only means of terminating the dreadful commotions in Bohemia, and if they are annulled, the kingdom will again relapse into the former disorders. The council

of Basle, which was composed of the most learned men in Europe, approved and granted them to the Bohemians, and pope Eugenius confirmed them. They contain no heresy, and are in all respects comformable to the doctrines of the holy church. I and my wife have followed them from our childhood, and I am determined to maintain them till my death." He then concluded with justifying himself against the charge of the pope, that he had violated his coronation oath. Fantino replying in a long and virulent invective, the king ordered him to quit the assembly, and imprisoned him in the castle of Podiebrad, allowing him no other sustenance except bread and water.

The pope, irritated by this insult, annulled the compacts, in 1463, and fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the king, unless he appeared at Rome within a certain time to justify his conduct. This bull occasioned a great ferment among the Catholics; Podiebrad was induced to liberate the legate, and made an apology to the offended pontiff; while Frederic, grateful for the assistance which he had recently received from the king of Bohemia, when besieged by his brother Albert, interposed his mediation with the pope, and procured the suspension of the sentence of excommunication.

Pius dying on the 14th of August, 1464, the new pope, Paul II., persecuted the king of Bohemia with increasing acrimony. He sent his legate to Breslau to excite commotions among the Catholics, endeavoured without effect to gain Casimir, king of Poland, by the offer of the Bohemian crown, and applied with the same ill success to the states of Germany. He at length overcame the gratitude of the emperor by threats and promises, and at the diet of Nuremberg in 1467, the proposal of his legate Fantino, to form a crusade against the heretic king of Bohemia, was supported by the imperial ambassadors. Although this proposal was rejected by the diet, the pope published a sentence of deposition against Podiebrad, and his emissaries were allowed to preach the crusade throughout Germany, and in every part of the Austrian territories.

The conduct of Frederic drew from the king of Bohemia, in 1468, a violent invective against his ingratitude, and a formal declaration of war; he followed this declara-

tion by an irruption into Austria, spreading devastation as far as the Danube. Frederic in vain applied to the princes of the empire for assistance: and at length excited Matthias king of Hungary against his father-in-law, by offering to invest him with the kingdom of Bohemia. Matthias, forgetting his obligations to Podiebrad, to whom he owed his life and crown, was dazzled by the offer, and being assisted by bodies of German marauders, who had assumed the cross, invaded Bohemia. At the same time the intrigues of the pope exciting the Catholics to insurrection, the country again became a prey to the dreadful evils of a civil and religious war. The vigour and activity of George Podiebrad suppressed the internal commotions, and repelled the invasion of the Hungarians; an armistice was concluded, and the two kings, on the 4th of April, 1469, held an amicable conference at Sternberg, in Moravia, where they entered into a treaty of peace. But Matthias, influenced by the perfidious maxim, that no compact should be kept with heretics, was persuaded by the papal legate to resume hostilities. After overrunning Moravia and Silesia, he held a mock diet at Olmutz with some of the Catholic party, where he was chosen king of Bohemia, and solemnly crowned by the legate; and from thence repairing to Breslau, he received the homage of the Silesians, and appointed a governor of the province.

Frederic notwithstanding his tender of the crown of Bohemia to Matthias, yet dreaded lest the two kingdoms should be united under so active and ambitious a rival. He accordingly withheld the succours which he had promised to the Hungarian monarch, and quitted the scene of action, under a pretence of a pilgrimage to Rome, in consequence of a vow which he had made while besieged in the citadel of Vienna; he also delayed his return by assembling a diet of the empire at Ratisbon for the purpose of forming a crusade against the Turks; and aware that such a project would not be carried into effect, offered to head the expedition in person.

Still, however, he flattered himself with the hopes of procuring the reversion of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, and was encouraged by the promises of the pope. But he was again disappointed; for Podiebrad, in order to

baffle the designs both of the emperor and Matthias, summoned a diet at Prague, and proposed to the states as his successor, Ladislaus, eldest son of Casimir, king of Poland, by Elizabeth, second daughter of the emperor Albert. The proposal was warmly approved by the nation, who were pleased with the prospect of being governed by a sovereign conversant with their language, and descended by the female line from their favourite monarch, Charles IV. This nomination, likewise, as Podiebrad had foreseen, conciliated the two parties of Catholics and Calaxtins, as the Catholics were desirous of living under a prince of their own communion, and the Calixtins anxious to prevent the accession of Frederic or Matthias, both of whom were hostile to their doctrines. The states accordingly assented without hesitation, and Ladislaus was unanimously nominated successor to the throne.

The indignation of Matthias was inflamed by this disappointment, and hostilities were continued with increasing fury. The two armies, conducted by their respective sovereigns, the ablest generals of the age, for some time kept each other in check; till at length both parties, wearied by the devastation of their respective countries, concluded a kind of armistice, on the 22nd of July, 1470, which put a period to hostilities.

On the death of Podiebrad, in the ensuing year, Frederic again presenting himself as a candidate, was supported by still fewer adherents than on the former occasion; a more numerous party espoused the interests of Matthias: but the majority declaring for Ladislaus, he was re-elected, and proclaimed king. Frederic supported Ladislaus in preference to Matthias, and by fomenting the troubles in Hungary, as well as by his intrigues with the king of Poland, endeavoured not only to disappoint Matthias of the throne of Bohemia, but even to drive him from that of Hungary.

Matthias was at this time in a situation full of difficulty aud embarrassment; he was involved in a war with Ladislaus, who was assisted by all the forces of his father, the king of Poland; his whole kingdom was agitated by intestine commotions, and a strong party of nobles breaking out into insurrection, had offered the crown to Casimir, prince of Poland. At the same time, the Turks having subdued

Transylvania, and ravaged Dalmatia and Croatia, built the fortress of Szabatch on the Save, and from thence harassed Hungary with perpetual inroads. From these impending dangers, Matthias extricated himself by his courage, activity, and prudence. While he carried the war into Bohemia and Silesia, he awed, by his presence, his rebellious subjects, conciliated by degrees the disaffected nobles, expelled the Poles, and, by an important victory in the vicinity of Breslau, over the united armies of Poles and Bohemians, forced the two sovereigns, in 1474, to conclude an armistice for three years and a half. He availed himself of the suspension of arms, to repel the Turks. He supported Stephen Bathori, hospodar of Wallachia, who had shaken off the Ottoman yoke, by a reinforcement of troops, enabled him to defeat Mahomet himself, at the head of 100,000 men, and soon afterwards secured his frontiers on the side of the Danube by the capture of Szabatch.

Having in consequence of these successes, delivered his dominions from the aggressions of the Turks, he hastened to gratify his vengeance against the emperor, whose conduct had afforded so many causes of complaint. After instigating Matthias to make war on George Podiebrad, Frederic had abandoned him in the midst of the contest, had refused to fulfil his promise of investing him with the kingdom of Bohemia, had concluded an alliance with the kings of Poland and Bohemia, and, on the 10th of June, 1477, formally conferred on Ladislaus the investiture of the crown. He had also disdainfully rejected the demand which Matthias had made of his daughter Cunegunda in marriage, fomented the internal discontents of Hungary, and afforded a refuge to the archbishop of Gran, who had rebelled against his sovereign. Causes less irritating than these would have been sufficient to arouse the indignation of so high-spirited a prince as Matthias; he accordingly issued a formal declaration of war, and immediately invaded Austria.

Frederic, left without a single ally, was unable to make the smallest resistance, and in less than a month Matthias overran the greater part of Lower Austria, invested the capital, and either besieged or captured all the fortresses of the Danube, as far as Krems and Stein. Frederic fled in dismay to Lintz, and, to save his capital, was reduced to

accept the conditions imposed by the conqueror, and purchased the safety of his dominions, with the restoration of the conquered places, by agreeing to pay one hundred thousand ducats, half of which were to be disbursed by the states, and the remainder by himself.

Before the close of the year, Matthias was again involved in hostilities with the kings of Poland and Bohemia, and Hungary exposed to new inroads from the Turks. He, therefore, evaded the payment of the stipulated sum, and, in justification of his conduct, accused Matthias of retaining some of the towns which he had promised to surrender, of fomenting discontents among the Austrians, and even of exciting the Turks to invade his dominions. Matthias, irritated by his conduct, concluded a peace with Ladislaus, by which he acknowledged him as king of Bohemia, and agreed that Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia should revert to the crown of Bohemia, in case of his death without issue. He then again invaded Austria; but his arms were not attended with the same rapid success as on the former invasion; many of the Austrian towns made the most desperate resistance; and it was not till after a contest of four years, which called forth all the skill and perseverance of the warlike monarch and his most experienced generals, that they obtained possession of the capital and the neighbouring fortresses, and completed the subjugation of Lower Austria, by the capture of Newstadt, the favourite residence of the emperor.

Frederic, driven from his hereditary dominions, at first took refuge at Gratz; and, on the approach of danger, wandered from city to city, and from convent to convent, soliciting assistance and receiving it from none. With inconceivable phlegm, he consoled himself, by repeating the apophthegm, that "to forget what cannot be recovered, is supreme felicity," and vented his resentment against the citizens of Vienna for their former turbulence, by comparing them to the frogs in the fable, who rejected a log for their sovereign, and became the prey of a stork. At length, by personal and repeated supplications to each elector and prince in particular, and by appeals to the diet assembled at Nuremberg, he obtained a scanty vote of troops and a small supply of money; and prevailed on Albert, duke of

Saxony, a prince highly distinguished for military talents, to assume the command. But the states of the empire delaying their stipulated contingents, Albert put himself at the head of his own troops, with some mercenaries collected in haste, and marched against Matthias. By the terror of his name, and the skill of his dispositions, he harassed and retarded the further progress of the enemy; but not being supported either by the states of Germany, or by Frederic, who, without troops or magazines, had made the most lavish promises of supplies and reinforcements, he concluded an armistice. In consequence of this agreement, he, in November, 1487, abandoned Austria, and Matthias was permitted to retain possession of the conquered territories until Frederic had discharged his former engagement, and reimbursed the expenses of the war; should Matthias die before that period, these states were to revert to their sovereign.

In the midst of these distresses, and while an exile and a fugitive, Frederic contributed to the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, by negotiating a marriage between his son, Maximilian, and the heiress of Burgundy.

The house of Burgundy was descended from Philip the Hardy, fourth son of John, king of France. On the extinction of the male line of the old dukes, in 1361, John conveyed to his favourite son, Philip, and his posterity, the duchy of Burgundy *, vacant by the death of Philip de Roure, which, on the failure of legitimate heirs to himself or his posterity, was to revert to the crown of France. Philip obtained, by marriage with Margaret, daughter of Louis, count of Flanders, and widow of Philip de Roure, Flanders, Artois, and Franche Comté; with Nevers, Rethuel, Mechlin, and Antwerp. His grandson, Philip the Good, acquired by purchase Namur and Luxemburgh; by inheritance Brabant and Limburgh, and extorted from the celebrated Jacqueline of Hainault, Hainault, Holland, Zealand,

* The duchy of Burgundy was composed of the Dijonnois, or the baillages of Dijon, Beaune, Nuits, Auxonne and St. John de Laune; the Autunnois, or the baillages of Autun, Mont Cenis, Semuren, Briennois, and Bourbon Lanci; the Chalonnois, with the Bresse Chalonnoise; the Auxois, in which were comprised the baillages of Semur, Avalon, Arnai le Duc, and Saulieu; and the Pays de Montagne.

and West Friesland in right of his mother. Charles the Bold added Guelderland and Zutphen* to his other dominions, and thus extended his territories from the frontiers of Provence to the shores of the German Ocean.

Charles, a prince of an aspiring temper, was anxious to obtain the regal dignity. He had privately caballed with the electors of Germany, in hopes to be chosen king of the Romans; and when disappointed, he even applied to Frederic himself to raise the duchy of Burgundy into a kingdom, offering in return to purchase his compliance, by giving his only daughter and heiress, Mary, in marriage to the archduke Maximilian. Frederic, won by the prospect of this splendid alliance, readily testified his inclination to gratify the duke of Burgundy, and accompanied by Maximilian, then in the fourteenth year of his age, met Charles at Treves, and formally invested him with the duchy of Guelderland, and the other territories dependent on the empire. The duke of Burgundy, deeming himself secure of the accomplishment of his wishes, prepared all the ensigns of royalty, and ordered the throne for his inauguration to be erected in the cathedral; and the young princess was affianced to Maximilian. But in the midst of this apparent harmony, Frederic suddenly departed from Treves, under the pretext that his presence was necessary to adjust some differences between the archbishop and chapter of Cologne.

This sudden change was principally occasioned by the intrigues of Louis XI., who found means to work upon the suspicious temper of Frederic. In fact, the two sovereigns placed no confidence in each other; Charles was unwilling to dispose of his daughter, whose hand was courted by so many powerful princes; and Frederic was no less averse to confer the regal dignity before the solemnisation of the nuptials. He was still further alarmed by the in-

* Arnold of Egmont, duke of Guelderland, and count of Zutphen, was confined in prison by his unnatural son Adolphus; being liberated by Charles, he disinherited his son, and sold his dominions to his benefactor, reserving the power of redemption to himself and his descendants, exclusive of Adolphus. Charles confined Adolphus in prison during his life; but his son Charles afterwards engaged in hostilities with Maximilian, and obtained a portion of his paternal inheritance.

sinuations of the French monarch, that Charles would not be satisfied with the title of king, but when raised to that dignity, would revive his pretensions to the imperial throne.

Charles was highly exasperated by this disappointment; an opportunity soon offered, which enabled him to gratify his resentment, by interfering in the affairs of Germany. Robert, elector of Cologne, being ejected by the states and chapter, and an administrator appointed in his stead, applied for protection to Charles, who marched with 60,000 men into the archbishopric of Cologne, and laid siege to Nuys. The states and chapter appealing to the diet, Frederic exerted himself with unusual spirit to avenge the aggression. He prevailed on the states to assemble a formidable army, which was intrusted to the command of Albert of Brandenburgh, and even himself made the campaign in person. He also readily acceded to the combination which Louis XI. formed against the house of Burgundy, with Sigismond of Tyrol, the Swiss, and the duke of Loraine. But his usual versatility and regard to his private interests soon induced him to desert his allies. Gained by a present of two hundred thousand crowns, and lured by the hope of concluding the match between Maximilian and the heiress of Burgundy, he held a private interview with the duke, and agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the pope.

The death of Charles at the battle of Nancy, on the 5th of January, 1477, seemed likely to frustrate the views of Frederic; for Louis XI. sent an ambassador to demand the hand of Mary for the dauphin, and at the same time, bursting with a considerable army into her dominions, took possession of Burgundy, with part of the counties of Artois and Flanders. Many of her confidential counsellors, either gained by Louis, or alarmed by his progress, urged her to accept the hand of the dauphin, as the only means of preserving her whole inheritance; while the natives of Ghent rose in arms, beheaded two of her ministers, and retained the princess as an hostage for the confirmation of their privileges. Holland and Zealand were animated by the same spirit, and were more intent on extorting new concessions from their young and helpless sovereign, than

on resisting the dangerous enemy by whom they were threatened.

In these circumstances, the states of Flanders warmly recommended Mary to espouse the prince of Cleves, who had been educated in the court of Burgundy, and whose father possessed considerable influence in the administration of the country. She was at the same time courted by earl Rivers, brother of Elizabeth, queen consort of England, whose pretensions were supported by all the interest of her uncle, Edward IV. Every circumstance seemed adverse to Frederic, as his son was favoured by no party either in the court or country; but the interview which he had held with Charles at Treves, ultimately contributed to the accomplishment of his wishes. The brilliant talents, personal accomplishments, and address of Maximilian in military exercises, had excited general admiration; and the duke of Burgundy, on returning to his capital, warmly expatiated in his praise, repeatedly affirming that he was the most promising prince of Europe. These praises made a deep impression on the sensitive mind of Mary, and operated in his favour, when she became mistress of her heart and hand.

On the death of Charles, the emperor despatched the electors of Mentz and Treves, the duke of Bavaria, and other persons of high distinction, to Ghent, to urge the suit of Maximilian. The princess, however, was exhorted by the states of Flanders, and the duke of Cleves, to decline the overture, and their exhortations were deemed equivalent to commands. But the cold arguments of grave politicians, and formal counsellors, availed little against the blandishments of love: and Mary astonished the whole court at the audience which she gave to the imperial ambassadors. When the elector of Mentz presented the letter and ring which she had sent to Maximilian by order of her father, she recognised with joy the tokens of affection, and expressed her resolution to fulfil her engagement. The duke of Cleves and the states remonstrated in vain; she persisted in her resolution, and in a few days the marriage was solemnised by proxy, in April, 1477.

Soon afterwards Maximilian himself, accompanied by a splendid retinue, made his public entry into Ghent in

August, and by the comeliness of his person, the dignity of his deportment, and the elegance of his manners, justified the choice of the princess. It was not, however, by personal accomplishments alone that he deserved and secured the fortune to which he had been raised. Though only eighteen, without assistance, and opposed to the most active and wily monarch of the age, he roused the spirit of the natives, arrested the progress of the French, and compelled Louis to enter into frequent armistices; he availed himself of these intervals to conciliate the affections of the natives, by the confirmation of their privileges, to suppress the insurrections excited by the intrigues of Louis, and to make active preparations for the prosecution of hostilities. Meanwhile, the spirit of the German diet was roused by the exhortations of Frederic; Louis, to avoid a war with the empire, consented to restore Cambray, Bouchain, Quesnoy, and the other imperial fiefs which he had occupied, and Maximilian was enabled to undertake offensive operations; he laid siege to Therouenne in Artois, and by the bloody, but glorious victory of Guinegatte, on the 7th of August, 1479, re-established the affairs of the Low Countries.

Louis, alarmed by this defeat, and sinking under a slow but mortal disorder, despatched Philip de Comines, the celebrated historian, to negotiate an accommodation; but Maximilian declined the overture, hoping either for more favourable terms after the death of Louis, which was daily expected, or desirous to recover the conquered territories by the prosecution of hostilities. All things concurred in flattering him with the prospect of success, when his progress was interrupted by the sudden death of his wife, on the 26th of March, 1482, leaving two infants, Philip and Margaret. From this fatal moment Maximilian was regarded by the turbulent natives of Flanders, the most powerful of all the provinces, as a stranger who had no claim to the sovereignty, and who continued to prosecute the war against France, not for the interests of the country, but for his own private advantage. Disputes accordingly arose for the guardianship of Philip, the young sovereign; some of the provinces inclined for Maximilian; but the states of Flanders took charge of the prince, appointed his

guardians, and excluded his father from all share in his education.

Louis availed himself of these disputes, applied directly to the states, and on the 23rd of December, 1482, concluded with them the memorable treaty of Arras, to which Maximilian was compelled to accede. By this treaty Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian, was affianced to the dauphin, and brought him as a dowry Franche-Comté and Artois, with the lordships of Maçon, Auxerre, Salines, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers; if Margaret died either before the consummation of the marriage, or without heirs, the ceded territories were to revert to Philip. The French king promised to restore the captured places in the duchy of Luxemburgh and the county of Chini, and engaged not to assist the people of Liege, or the inhabitants of Cleves and Treves, who were at war with Maximilian. Margaret was to be educated at the court of France; and the guardianship of Philip to be intrusted to the states of Flanders.

In consequence of this accommodation, Margaret was sent to Amboise, to be educated as the future queen of France, and Louis XI., dying soon afterwards, her betrothed husband ascended the throne, under the name of Charles VIII. Although only thirteen he was declared major; but by the will of the deceased monarch, the government was intrusted to his sister, Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu.

In addition to the advantages derived from the marriage of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy, Frederic still further contributed to the aggrandisement of his family, by procuring his election as king of the Romans, and thus obtaining for him the reversion of the imperial crown. The emperor was secure of the three ecclesiastical electors, who either owed their elevation to his influence, or were personally attached to Maximilian; and three of the secular electors being related to the house of Austria, favoured his interests. But as he expected opposition from the king of Bohemia, the election was conducted with such secresy and expedition, that the choice of Maximilian was announced, before Ladislaus was apprised that the affair was in agitation.

The king of Bohemia was highly irritated by this contemptuous neglect: his subjects partook of his resentment, and the states of the kingdom even proposed to separate from the empire, and formed a confederacy with the kings of Hungary and Poland, in order to invalidate the election. Supported by his subjects, and encouraged by this formidable alliance, Ladislaus refused to acknowledge Maximilian, and made preparations for war. He at the same time sent to the diet the decree of Rhodolph, which declared the right of Bohemia to assist in the election of a king of the Romans, together with an extract from the Golden Bull, which confirmed that right, and affixed a penalty of five hundred marks of silver to the breach of the privilege. He demanded a formal acknowledgment of the right of Bohemia, and a declaration that in future no election should take place, to which the king of Bohemia was not summoned; he also required an exemption from the investiture of his dominions in person, and from the obligation of accompanying the emperor to Rome, either personally or by his ambassadors. These conditions were presented by the emperor to the electoral college, and the indignation of the whole body was roused by the two last articles. By the intervention of Frederic, however, a compromise was at length effected; the electors made an apology for the informality of the election, and promised that no future infraction of the privilege of Bohemia should take place; Ladislaus acknowledged Maximilian, and withdrew his demand for the penalty of five hundred marks.

The election had been preceded by new troubles in the Netherlands, and was followed by still greater commotions, from which the king of the Romans was rescued by the interference of the empire. After the conclusion of the treaty of Arras, the jealousy which the Flemings had entertained of Maximilian, was increased by his residence in their vicinity, by the preference which he gave to foreigners, and by the power which he possessed in the government of the other provinces. Maximilian himself was also deeply affected by the rigorous conditions of the treaty, which not only excluded him from all share in the government of Flanders, but transferred the education of his children to strangers. These mutual disgusts soon occasioned open

hostilities; and the discontented Flemings were supported by the French government. Maximilian, however, made himself master of the principal towns in the neighbourhood of Ghent, surprised Dendermond, and defeated the forces of the rebels, though joined by a body of 4500 French. In July, 1485, reduced Ghent to submission, compelled the burghers to acknowledge him as guardian of his son and governor of Flanders, and to restore the archduke Philip; in return he promised not to withdraw Philip from the Netherlands, and confirmed the rights and privileges of the nation, and all the acts passed by the states since the death of Mary (1485).

Having thus re-established his authority in Flanders, Maximilian prepared to turn his arms against France, as well to avenge the breach of the treaty of Arras, by the interference of the French government in the affairs of Flanders, as with the hope of recovering some of the Burgundian provinces wrested from him by Louis XI.

The contests in France, between the lady of Beaujeu, and the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, for the administration of affairs, presented a favourable opportunity to realise his views. He formed a league with the party of the duke of Orleans, and entered into an alliance with Francis II., duke of Brittany, who like himself was dissatisfied with the French government for fomenting the discontents of his subjects, and had afforded an asylum to the duke of Orleans, to Alain, lord of Albret, to the count of Dunois, and other nobles of his party; the league was joined by his nephew, John de Châlons, prince of Orange. In consequence of these connections, Maximilian despatched, in 1486, a herald to Paris, exhorting the citizens to reform the administration, and at the same time, with 12,000 men bursting into Picardy, took Therouenne and Mortagne. His progress was, however, checked by the exertions of the heroic princess, who held the reins of government with equal address and energy. An army, headed by the young king in person, opposed Maximilian; the discontented nobles of France were either kept in awe, or appeased, and Therouenne re-taken; Brittany was overrun by the French troops, the principal fortresses captured, and Nantes invested. The troops of Brittany were defeated at the battle of St. Aubin; the duke of Orleans,

and the prince of Orange made prisoners, and the duke of Brittany, on the 28th of August, 1488, signed terms of peace, which rendered him the vassal of France.

While the French thus humbled the allies of Maximilian, and deprived him of their support, they checked the progress of his arms, by fomenting fresh troubles, and exciting insurrections in Flanders. After his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, in April, he accompanied his father to Brussels, where he treated him with regal magnificence, and expended in feasts and entertainments those treasures which ought to have been appropriated for the prosecution of the war. On the return of Frederic into Germany, Maximilian visited Flanders, and the other provinces of the Low Countries, collected German troops, and made great preparations for the resumption of hostilities.

The presence of foreign garrisons, the disorders committed by the German troops, and the new contributions which he required from the states, excited general discontents, particularly among the turbulent citizens of Ghent. These troubles were fomented by France, and the refusal of Maximilian to account for the expenditure of the public money, became a pretext for insurrection. His presence being required by the people of Bruges, he complied, after some hesitation, with the hope of awing the disaffected, and trusting to the promises of the governor and magistrates, that 3000 of the burghers were ready to take up arms in his cause. On the 9th of February, 1488, he made his solemn entry into Bruges, and was received with every mark of respect and affection; but on the morning after his arrival, he was informed that the citizens of Ghent had been joined by Ypres, and surprised Courtray, which was garrisoned by German troops. Maximilian hastened to quit the town, when the populace, instigated by emissaries from Ghent, rose with one accord, seized the gates, occupied the market-place and the principal streets, required him to dismiss his foreign troops, and deliver up his evil counsellors, whom they accused of peculation. Maximilian endeavoured in vain to appease the incensed multitude; they pitched tents in the market-place, raised the banners of their tribes, and roamed about the streets with wild exclamations, and threats of vengeance. After passing

the night in dreadful suspense, Maximilian was again induced to repair to the market-place ; but all his arguments and exhortations were ineffectual; although the dignity and affability of his deportment awed the most moderate, he was assailed on every side by clamours, and required to dismiss his foreign troops, and abandon his guilty counsellors. A report being artfully spread that an army was advancing to punish their disobedience, the people were roused to the highest degree of fury: they sounded the alarm bell, raised the great standard of Brabant, and rushed to the palace with the resolution to massacre the king and his attendants. They were with difficulty diverted from their purpose, by the entreaties of their chiefs, and resumed their station in the market-place, after leaving a hundred men in the palace, as a guard over the king. The ensuing morning new messengers arrived from Ghent to encourage the insurgents; some imprudent attempts made by his faithful adherents to facilitate his escape, revived their fury, and towards the close of the day, their clamours rose to so great a height, that Maximilian found it necessary again to present himself in public. He addressed them, and observed, "Disturbers of the peace have dared to accuse me of endeavouring to escape by flight, and of secret machinations to crush you with a foreign force; my presence proves the falsity of the accusation. Here I am, behold me ready to live and die with you." His address was interrupted by a few with murmurs of applause; but the majority surrounded him, hurried him to the shop of an apothecary, where they confined him several days. Meanwhile they put some of his ministers to the torture in the market-place; some they beheaded, and others they sent to Ghent. The citizens of Ghent executed thirteen of his adherents, and, in conjunction with the people of Bruges, divested him of the guardianship of his son; and in the name of the archduke Philip, and the king of France, as their liege lord, established a new administration. Maximilian was afterwards transferred to the house of Philip of Cleves, and confined like a criminal; but the people of Bruges allowed him the attendance of his own domestics, and resisted all the efforts of those of Ghent, who were desirous to obtain possession of his person, in order to deliver him to the king of France. During the

whole of his perilous captivity, Maximilian behaved with a courage, mildness, and dignity, which reflects the highest honour on his character, and which more than any other cause contributed to disarm the resentment of his enemies, and repress the fury of the populace.

During these transactions, Brabant, Hainault, and other provinces sent deputies to solicit his liberation; while the prince of Cleves, collecting the German troops from different garrisons, took Sluys, and endeavoured to alarm the insurgents by making incursions into the vicinity of Ghent and Bruges. These unavailing efforts would only have roused the resentment of the people, and exposed the king to new outrages, had not the exertions of his father stimulated the princes of the empire to attempt the liberation of their presumptive chief. Frederic, with the anxiety of a parent, and with an ardour which was not damped either by the natural indolence of his character, or the infirmities of age, relinquished all other objects to obtain the release of his darling son. He solicited succours in person from the different princes and states of Germany, and obtained troops from the duke of Loraine, and from those parts of the Low Countries which still continued faithful. In a short time he assembled at Cologne an army of 15,000 well-appointed troops, penetrated into Brabant, and advanced to Mechlin, and at the same time instigated the pope to anathematise the rebels.

The Flemings, terrified by the approach of the German troops, released Maximilian, on the 16th of May, 1488, after compelling him to renew those articles of the treaty of Arras, by which he had renounced the guardianship of his son, with the government of Flanders, and extorting from him a promise to surrender all the fortresses, and withdraw all the foreign troops from the country. He engaged to confirm this treaty by a public and solemn ratification; he likewise agreed to deliver hostages for the fulfiment of the conditions, and use his endeavours to obtain the approbation of his father.

The terms of his release being arranged, Maximilian was liberated. He displayed no sign of anger or resentment for the mortifications which he had endured; but with a cheerful countenance, and affable deportment, re-

paired to the church, and after offering up his thanksgivings, exclaimed to the bystanders, "We are now at peace." He next visited the shop where he had been first confined, read, without emotion, an insulting inscription, which had been written on the walls, and testified his forgiveness to the people, who fell on their knees, imploring his pardon. Ascending a scaffold erected in the market-place, he read the conditions to which he had agreed, with an audible voice, and swore to their observance on the consecrated host, the gospel, and the relics of the saints, which were placed on an altar. He afterwards dined in public, and passing leisurely through the town, was received at the gate by Christopher, duke of Bavaria, who was despatched by Frederic to meet him with an escort. He hastened to Mechlin, and affected to persuade his father not to prosecute hostilities against the insurgents. Although his oath was annulled by Frederic, and the states of the empire, he refused to take part in the war, and repairing to Frankfort, prevailed on the diet to promise succours against France, for supporting the Flemings.

Meanwhile Frederic himself invested Ghent; but the inhabitants being supported by a corps of 3000 French infantry, and 400 gens d'armes, made a spirited resistance; and, after a languid siege of three months, he left the command of the army, with the government of the Netherlands, to Albert of Saxony, and returned to his hereditary dominions.

The restoration of tranquillity was hastened by the conclusion of peace with the king of France, who was apprehensive of a German war, and desirous to relieve himself from so dangerous an enemy as Maximilian, in order to pursue his schemes for the acquisition of Brittany, which by the death of the duke, and the accession of a young and inexperienced princess, seemed likely to become an easy prey. A peace was therefore concluded by his ambassadors at Frankfort, on the 22nd of July, 1489, in which, among other articles, he promised to assist in pacifying the troubles of Flanders; confirmed the stipulations of the treaty of Arras relative to the restitution of Burgundy, and the county of Charalois; and agreed to restore the conquered places in Brittany to the duchess, on condition that she

should dismiss the English troops who had been called in during the contest with France. He fulfilled, without a moment's delay, that part of the treaty which related to Flanders; and by his powerful mediation, reduced the insurgents to consent to the re-establishment of Maximilian in the guardianship of his son, and the government of Flanders, and to pay him a fine of 300,000 crowns.

Chap. XIX. — 1489–1493.

The restoration of tranquillity in the Netherlands enabled Frederic and Maximilian to direct their attention to the recovery of Austria from the king of Hungary. They therefore endeavoured to obtain succours from the diet of the empire; but the German princes, who had so readily afforded their assistance to rescue Maximilian from the hands of the insurgents, and had evinced a disposition to take part in the war against France, declined interfering in the private quarrels of the house of Austria. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Frederic refused to redeem his dominions on the conditions stipulated by Albert of Saxony, trusting to the predictions of astrologers, that the king of Hungary, who laboured under a dangerous disorder, would die within the space of a year. But Maximilian, who did not possess the phlegm, faith, or patience of his father, opened a negotiation with Matthias, and obtained his consent to restore the Austrian territories, on the payment of 12,000 ducats instead of 70,000. Frederic, though offended by his son's interference, and unwilling to discharge the stipulated sum, at length accepted the conditions; the peace was proclaimed in September 1489, and a day fixed for the meeting of the two sovereigns at Buda. The illness of Matthias, however, delayed the meeting from time to time, till his death, in April 1490, prevented the formal ratification of the treaty, and delivered Frederic from his humiliating condition, and from a great and dangerous rival.

On that event, the active and enterprising spirit of

Maximilian gave a new aspect to the affairs of his family. The diet of Hungary having assembled, Frederic offered himself and Maximilian as candidates for the crown, alleging the compact of succession concluded with Matthias. They were opposed by John, natural son of Matthias, by Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, and by Albert, brother of Ladislaus; and, notwithstanding the splendid talents and active spirit of Maximilian, the Hungarians raised, on the 15th of July, 1490, Ladislaus to the throne.

Maximilian did not tamely submit to this rejection; having conciliated the subjects of his father, with their assistance he expelled the Hungarians in six weeks from Austria, and burst into Hungary, which, as usual, on the accession of a new king, was agitated by contending parties. He made himself master of Alba Regia, the place where the kings of Hungary were crowned and interred, and was preparing to penetrate to Buda, when his progress was arrested by a mutiny of his troops, and, after leaving a garrison at Alba Regia, he again retreated into Austria. Both he and his father in vain endeavoured to draw succours from the diet of Nuremberg, and the king of Hungary was enabled by this respite to restore tranquillity to his kingdom, till at length Maximilian, whose attention was called to the affairs of Brittany, relinquishing a fruitless enterprise, listened to the overtures of Ladislaus, and in an interview at Presburgh, settled conditions of peace. Ladislaus was to retain possession of the crown, and ceded all claims to the Austrian territories conquered by Matthias; and Maximilian was allowed to assume the title of king of Hungary, received 100,000 ducats for the expenses of the war, and obtained the renewal of the family compact, intailing the succession, in failure of issue male, on Frederic and his heirs. Thus, by the death of Matthias, and the activity and valour of Maximilian, Frederic regained possession of Austria, received a compensation for his losses, and was relieved from the embarrassments and dangers in which he had involved himself by his obstinacy, indolence, and intrigues.

These contests in Austria and Hungary, and the discontents in the Netherlands, prevented the consummation of the marriage which Maximilian had concluded with

Anne, heiress of Brittany, and enabled the French government to reunite that important province to the other possessions of the crown.

The duke of Brittany died on the 9th of September, 1488, leaving only two daughters, Anne, the eldest, who succeeded to his territories, and Isabella. At his decease, Brittany was agitated by different parties; some of the nobles were attached to France, others to England, and a few only consulted the welfare of their country, and the interests of their sovereign. The young duchess, then in the thirteenth year of her age, was surrounded by interested or venal counsellors, and, like Mary of Burgundy, was courted by different suitors, who were eager to appropriate so rich a prize as Brittany. The first of these was Alain, surnamed the Great, lord of Albret, a seigniory on the borders of Gascony, who had joined the disaffected princes of France, rendered essential assistance to the late duke, and during his life possessed great influence in the counsels of Brittany*; but his rough and unpolished manners, and the difference of age, rendered him unacceptable to the princess. The next was Louis, duke of Orleans, a young and amiable prince, distinguished for the beauty of his person, and the elegance of his manners, who had made a deep impression on the youthful heart of Anne; but he was still a prisoner, and being married to Anne, sister of Charles VIII., could not hope to obtain a divorce in opposition to the French government.

The prince who appeared most certain of success was Maximilian, whose motive in forming an alliance with the late duke, was perhaps no less to secure so important a territory by a marriage with the heiress, than to strengthen himself against the aggressions of France. Before the death of Francis, he had commenced a negotiation for this purpose, through the means of the prince of Orange, and he afterwards sent agents to solicit privately the hand of

* Alain d'Albret was great grandfather of Henry IV. of France. His son John became king of Navarre by his marriage with Catherine, heiress of that kingdom. Jane d'Albret, grand-daughter of John, was mother of Henry IV., by Anthony of Bourbon, to whom she conveyed the kingdom of Navarre, and the territory of Albret, then erected into a duchy.

the princess. This affair was veiled with the utmost secresy, in order to avoid exciting the jealousy of the French court, till the match was concluded; and Anne was at length induced to sacrifice her chimerical passion for the duke of Orleans, and to accept a prince* who was not inferior to her favourite lover in personal qualities and amenity of manners, and who, from his high dignity and extensive alliances, seemed capable of supporting her against the power of France.

But the views of all the competitors, and even the hopes of Maximilian himself, were blasted by the policy and intrigues of the French court.

France had long coveted the possession of Brittany†, which, from its fertility, maritime situation, the excellence of its harbours, and the advantages it had afforded to her enemies, rendered its acquisition an object of the highest importance. She had therefore continually waged either open war, or engaged in secret cabals against the dukes of Brittany, and had supported the discontented nobles. The sovereigns of Brittany were, however, still sufficiently powerful to brave her forces, and the last duke, Francis, in particular, assisted the disaffected nobles, and joined with Charles of Burgundy in thwarting the views of Louis XI. The French government had made various attempts, both by intrigue and arms, to reduce the duke to submission; but had been principally foiled by the opposition of England. During the reign of Francis, the lady of Beaujeu had eagerly seized the pretext of the asylum afforded to the duke of Orleans and the other disaffected princes, to invade Brittany without appearing as the aggressor. She had skilfully availed herself of the avarice and indecision of Henry VII., and by an affected confidence, and offers of accepting his mediation, had prevented him from taking a timely part in the contest. The same policy induced her,

* The solemnisation of this celebrated marriage is so uncertain, that historians have in vain endeavoured to ascertain the precise date. It is supposed to have taken place at the commencement of 1490.

† Originally an arriere fief, dependent on Normandy; but being erected into a duchy by Philip the Handsome, in 1296 or 1297, it was from that time considered by the French court as a fief arising immediately from the crown.

after the battle of St. Aubin, to conclude a temporary peace with the duke, and wait for a more favourable opportunity of securing possession of the country.

This opportunity presented itself on the death of Francis II., September 9th, 1488. The French troops instantly made themselves masters of Coquentin, reduced Brest to propose a surrender, and occupied the other principal places of Lower Brittany; and the young king himself, at the head of a considerable army, in February, 1489, laid siege to Nantes. The nobles, divided among themselves, or devoted to France, were unable to defend the country; and the duchess, without troops and without money, made earnest applications to the king of England and to Maximilian, with whom she was then engaged in negotiating her marriage. Maximilian, embarrassed by the discontents among his Flemish subjects, and employed in the distant wars of Austria and Hungary, was unable to furnish any effectual assistance; but the cold and suspicious Henry was at length roused by the conduct of the French, and, after losing much time in arranging the terms of payment, despatched 6000 troops into Brittany. These succours arrived too late; the counsellors and generals, gained by France, threw every obstacle in the way of their allies; the French being considerably reinforced, and attaching themselves to the defence of the principal towns, wearied out the enemy by a defensive war; and the term of service was no sooner expired, than the greater part of the English retired in disgust from the country, leaving it more exhausted and dispirited than before.

Charles VIII. having now attained the nineteenth year of his age, and assumed the reins of government, acted with duplicity and address congenial to the spirit which he had inherited from his father, and the lessons he had imbibed from the lady of Beaujeu. He was sensible that Brittany could not be conquered without extreme difficulty, or long retained in opposition to the duchess and the natives, if supported by the king of England, and the influence of Maximilian in the empire. He therefore changed his plan of policy, and formed the design of securing the country by a marriage with the young princess, notwithstanding

his solemn contract with Margaret of Austria. He detached Maximilian, by the peace of Frankfort, and allayed his suspicions by affected deference, and by the scrupulous fidelity with which he fulfilled the stipulations relative to Flanders; while he evaded the performance of those relating to Brittany, under the pretence that the duchess had not dismissed all the English troops from her service. Hostilities recommenced, and the publication of the marriage between Maximilian and Anne contributed greatly to promote his views; for Alain d'Albret, thus disgusted by the disappointment of his hopes, instantly purchased a peace with Charles, by surrendering Nantes, and the French troops without delay advanced against Rennes, the capital, the only remaining place of strength in the duchy.

Maximilian now beheld the danger to which the territories of his bride were exposed; he appealed to the states of the empire, obtained a succour of 12,000 men, and was to be assisted by Henry VII. with 6000 auxiliaries; but he was far from suspecting the refined policy of the French king, and relied on the validity of his own espousals, and of the marriage between Charles and his daughter. The languor of the German states in supplying the promised succours, and the deliberative policy of Henry, were ill opposed to the secrecy, energy, and address of the French cabinet. Charles put every engine in motion to anticipate and baffle his rival; while his forces pressed and alarmed the duchess, he gained her ministers and generals, and prepared the minds of the nobles for the intended union. He employed the intervention of the prince of Orange, who had successfully negotiated the match with Maximilian; he even liberated the duke of Orleans, and, by clemency, induced him to sacrifice his own passion, and to exert his influence with the duchess. The greatest obstacle remained to overcome her repugnance; she detested the French as the cause of all the calamities which had overwhelmed her country; she fostered a personal dislike of Charles himself for the homeliness of his person, and considered her union with Maximilian as indissoluble. She long resisted all persuasions or remonstrances, and displayed a resolution to hold out to the last extremity; till at

length betrayed by her generals, overborne by her counsellors, without hopes of succour, and her capital itself blockaded, she yielded to the persuasions of the duke of Orleans. A mock treaty was concluded, by which Charles agreed to evacuate Brittany, to submit his claims to arbitration, and to allow the duchess a free passage and a safe conduct into Germany. These ostensible terms were instantly fulfilled; the French evacuated Brittany; and ambassadors, sent by Maximilian to demand a safe conduct for his wife, returned in haste to announce the speedy arrival of their future queen. But the princess, instead of seeking Maximilian in Germany, repaired to Langeais, where her marriage was solemnised with the king of France, and the important duchy of Brittany re-united to the crown.* The princess made a public declaration of her free and voluntary consent to the match; and as previous, but informal dispensations had been obtained from the pope, a new dispensation confirmed the union, and relieved them from the penalty of excommunication.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of Maximilian, who thus saw his own daughter insulted, after she had been treated for seven years as queen of France, and himself deprived of Brittany and his amiable bride, at the time when the solemnisation of their nuptials seemed to render a separation impossible. Breathing vengeance, he entered into an offensive alliance with the kings of England and Arragon, and applied to the Swiss cantons. He also appealed to the diet of the empire; and after expatiating on the double injury he had received, he laid before the states a formal demand of their contingents of men and money; and his instances were supported by the urgent representations of the English ambassadors. But Maximilian experienced the fate of those who are reduced to depend solely on the assistance of others; the Swiss cantons only proffered their mediation; and the German states, after unwillingly granting half the succours which he had demanded, rendered them ineffectual by their tardiness in carrying their grant into execution. Henry VII., indeed,

* See the contract of marriage in Philip de Comines.

obtained large subsidies from his parliament, and passing over to Calais with a considerable army, laid siege to Boulogne; but as his grand rule of policy was rather to accumulate treasures, and maintain tranquillity at home, than to take an efficient part in foreign transactions, he made a sudden peace with France, by a formal treaty concluded on the 3d of November, 1492, and sold his neutrality for a considerable sum of money, and a yearly pension. At the same time, Ferdinand of Arragon, who was embarrassed by his contests with the Moors, was detached from the alliance with Maximilian, by the cession of Rouissillon and Cerdagne, which had been wrested from Arragon by Louis XI.

Maximilian himself, ill supported by the empire, deriving no assistance from his father, abandoned by his allies, and embarrassed by the discontents in the Netherlands, yielded to the necessity of his affairs, and concluded a treaty at Senlis, on conditions no less advantageous than honourable. His daughter was restored, and he obtained an indemnification for the failure of his hopes on Brittany, by the recovery of Franche Comté, Artois, Châlonnois, and the lordship of Nevers, except the towns of Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune, which were to be occupied by the French till the archduke Philip had attained the age of twenty.*

From the transactions of Maximilian, we revert to Frederic, whose long and turbulent reign was now hastening to a close.

Frederic has been, perhaps, too severely censured for his neglect of the affairs of Germany, and even unjustly charged as the cause of all the intestine wars and miseries which overwhelmed the empire. His warmest panegyrists, indeed, cannot deny that he was a prince of a languid and inactive character; but his enemies must acknowledge that Germany owes to him the establishment of some essential regulations for the administration of justice, and for maintaining the internal peace and external dignity of the empire.

* Lobineau; Philip de Comines; Bacon's Henry VII.

During his reign, and by his endeavours, the outlines of a system were traced for levying the contingents of the princes and states, which had hitherto been reduced to no regular plan, and principally depended on the power and character of the emperors, and the respective interests of the different members composing the Germanic body. The succours were divided into greater and lesser contingents, the former amounting to 34,000 men, and the latter to 8000; the lesser contingents were to march on the first alarm, and the greater the ensuing year. For the support of these troops 537,000 florins were appropriated for the greater contingents, and 153,000 for the lesser, to be levied according to the respective assessments paid by the different princes to the empire; and the contributions of the imperial towns were to be settled with the emperor himself, by means of commissaries. This plan was doubtless well adapted to meet either a pressing exigency, or to support a protracted war, and may be considered as forming the most practicable system which the heterogeneous nature of the Germanic body would admit.

Another evil which greatly contributed to perpetuate the troubles of Germany, and which had baffled all the vigilance and exertions of the emperors, was the right of diffidation, or private warfare. This abuse was carried to so great an extent, that not only sovereigns and states engaged in hostilities from interest or revenge, but the lesser barons, and even associations of tradesmen and domestics, sent defiances to each other, on the most ridiculous pretences, and in a manner scarcely credible at the present day. We find a declaration of war* from a private individual, Henry Mayenberg, against the emperor himself; another from the lord of Prauenstein against Frankfort, because a young lady of the city refused to dance with his

* As a specimen, we subjoin this challenge: "Most serene, and most gracious prince Frederic, king of the Romans, I, Henry Mayenberg, make known to your royal grace, that from this time I will no longer obey your grace, but will be the enemy of your country, and your subjects, and will do them as much harm as possible. Dated at Yderspewgen, the Wednesday before Palm-Sunday." — Schmidt, tom. vi. p. 41.

uncle*; another in 1450, from the baker and domestics of the margrave of Baden, against Eslingen, Reutlingen, and other imperial cities; another in 1462, from the baker of the count palatine Louis, against the cities of Augsburgh, Ulm, and Rothwell; one in 1471, from the shoe-blacks of the university of Leipzig against the provost, and some other members; and one in 1477, from a cook of Eppenstein, with his scullions, dairy-maids, and dish-washers, against Otho, count of Solms.

During the reign of Frederic, as well as in preceding times, various attempts were made for the maintenance of the public peace, by instituting a superior court of judicature, or imperial chamber, to which the princes, states, and nobles, might have recourse, instead of appealing to the sword. But most of these endeavours being frustrated by the difficulty of reconciling the prerogatives of the emperor with the privileges claimed for the imperial chamber, and providing for the maintenance of the judges, Frederic laboured to consolidate a confederacy, which, by its union and power, might awe the greater princes, repress banditti, and maintain the public tranquillity.

On former occasions the states and towns had confederated for mutual support, either against the encroachments of the emperors, or the aggressions of the nobles; and the nobles in their turn associated to resist the leagues of the towns. From this principle arose the Helvetic confederacy, the Hanseatic union, and the league of the commericial cities in Suabia, and on the Rhine; and the counter confederacies of the nobles, of which that called the shield of St. George and the lion still existed. Most of the preceding emperors, who had found these associations a considerable check on their authority, opposed their formation, and endeavoured to establish the principle, that no league could be formed without the consent of the chief. Frederic himself, in the early part of his reign, had been actuated by the same motive, and had used his utmost exertions to dissolve the Helvetic union; but his want of power, and the failure of his attempts to establish the public peace, induced him to change his plan of policy.

* Hegewisch Geschichte Kaiser Maximilians.

Suabia was the part of Germany best adapted for the fulfilment of his views, as it abounded with imperial towns, and being divided into numerous states and lordships without a superior head, was immediately dependent on the emperor and empire. Accordingly, after proclaiming a public peace for ten years, Frederic convened a meeting of the Suabian states, and induced them to accede to his plan. The ancient confederacy of St. George was adopted as the basis of the system; but instead of being confined solely to the nobles, it comprehended princes, nobles, towns, and vassals. At the commencement, the confederacy consisted only of four prelates, three counts, sixteen knights, and six towns, and articles were framed for the direction of the union, the decision of disputes, the proportion of succours, and the admission of new members. The knights and turbulent barons, whose employment was warfare, and whose wealth was derived from plunder, were averse to a league which was calculated to repress their exactions. Many were, however, persuaded, and others compelled, to accede, by the emperor, who threatened to punish their refusal with fines and the ban of the empire; and before the close of the year, the confederacy amounted to twenty-two towns, thirteen prelates, twelve counts, and three hundred and fifty knights. This union was strengthened by the accession of the greater princes, both in Suabia and the adjacent parts of the empire; and among its members were numbered Sigismond of Tyrol, the count of Wirtemberg, the margrave of Baden, the electors of Mentz and Treves, and the margraves Frederic and Sigismond of Brandenburgh.

The good effects of this union were soon perceived; for one hundred and forty strongholds of nobles and banditti were demolished, and the first efforts of the league humbled the powerful house of Bavaria, who, to use the expressions of Frederic before the diet, "had repeatedly insulted the majesty of the empire, and whose domestic dissensions, and ambitious projects, had incessantly disturbed the tranquillity of Germany." George, duke of Bavaria Landshut, was compelled to make reparation for an injury committed by his officers on the abbot of Rogenburgh, a member of the league, and, by its assistance, Fre-

deric himself was enabled to curb the refractory spirit of Albert of Munich.

In 1485, Albert had taken possession of Ratisbon, which formerly belonged to his ancestors, but had been raised by Frederic Barbarossa to the rank of an imperial town. He also espoused Cunegunda, daughter of the emperor, without his knowledge or consent, and obtained from Sigismond the reversion of the Tyrol as her dowry. This conduct rousing the indignation of Frederic, who was thus insulted, both as a prince and a father, he menaced Sigismond and Albert with the ban of the empire; but as he was then expelled from his dominions by the king of Hungary, his threats were despised, and his unwarlike and indolent character derided. A temporary reconciliation was effected by the means of Maximilian, who was greatly attached to his sister, and admired the spirit of his brother-in-law; Albert consented to renounce the reversion of the Tyrol, promised to restore Ratisbon to the empire, and even rendered essential services to the emperor, in the war of the Netherlands. The dispute being, however, renewed, by his refusal to fulfil his promise, Frederic published the imperial ban, both against him and the city. He also obtained the support of the empire, and particularly of the Suabian league, and Albert was even opposed by his brothers, Christopher and Wolfgang, whom he had excluded from the administration of affairs, and who became members of the new association. An army of execution, consisting of 20,000 foot, and 2600 horse, of which 10,000 men were furnished by the league, with a train of fifty pieces of artillery, was assembled with unusual alacrity, and under the command of Frederic, margrave of Brandenburgh, advanced to the banks of the Leck. But a reconciliation was again effected by the mediation of Maximilian: Charles restored Ratisbon, and confirmed his former renunciation of the Tyrol, and in return received a sum of money as the dowry of his wife, with the lordship of Abersberg. He afterwards repaired with his wife and three infant daughters to Lintz, and experienced an affectionate reception from the emperor, whose declining age was cheered by the return of domestic harmony and public tranquillity.

This was almost the last public act of Frederic. Soon

after his return to Austria, he resigned the administration of affairs, both in the hereditary countries and in Germany, to Maximilian, and passed the remainder of his days in retirement at Lintz, occupied with the pursuit of his favourite studies, and enjoying a tranquillity which he had never before experienced during his long and turbulent reign. He had now attained the advanced age of seventy-eight, and had for some time been afflicted with a cancerous ulcer in his leg. As the only means of relief, he submitted to amputation; but from the unskilfulness of the surgeon, and the vitiated state of his blood, a second amputation was necessary. He bore these painful operations with extreme fortitude, and gave a singular proof of his characteristic phlegm. Taking the severed limb in his hand, he said to those who were present, "What difference is there between an emperor and a peasant? or rather, is not a sound peasant better than a sick emperor? yet I hope to enjoy the greatest good which can happen to man; a happy exit from this transitory life." He seemed to be in a fair state of recovery, but his rigid observation of a fast, and the inordinate use of melons brought on a dysentery, which, in his debilitated condition, became fatal. After submitting, with scrupulous minuteness, to all the ceremonies of the church, he closed, on the 19th of August, 1493, a life of seventy-eight years, and a reign of fifty-three, a longer period than any emperor had filled the throne since the days of Augustus.

Frederic was tall in person, well made, of a handsome countenance, and majestic in his look and deportment. He was generally neat and plain in his apparel; but on occasions of show and ceremony was splendidly and magnificently habited, and fond of displaying jewels and costly ornaments. He was religious, meek, chaste, and faithful to his word, affectionate to his family, kind to his domestics, mild and placable in his disposition; he bore injuries and insults with a phlegm bordering on stoical apathy, and, by his forbearance, too often exposed himself to contempt, and invited new aggressions. *

* Besides the insolent declaration of war sent him by a private individual, given in the preceding part of this chapter, the secret tri-

Temperate even to abstemiousness, he never drank pure wine, and fostered the strongest abhorrence of excess in liquor, which he called the parent of all vices. He carried these scruples to a ridiculous nicety. When the empress, who was unused to the cold climate of Germany, was recommended by the physicians to drink wine, if she wished to become a mother, he observed, "I would rather have a barren wife, than a wine-bibber;" and he received with rapture her declaration, that although she lived only to obey her husband, yet she would rather die than drink wine, even at his command. He possessed a deep knowledge of character, was skilful in negotiation, and selected for his ministers men of business, judgment, and capacity. His memory was retentive, his comprehension quick, and he was not only deeply versed in the learning of the times, but was master of the mystical mummery and occult sciences which formed the wonder and delight of the age.

From the scantiness of his revenues, and the multiplicity of his embarrassments, he was rigidly economical, but his economy did not degenerate into avarice; for he maintained a court equal to the dignity of his high station, redeemed sixty lordships which had been mortgaged by his less thrifty predecessors, expended large sums in the cultivation and encouragement of science, and was munificent in the foundation and endowment of ecclesiastical establishments.

But with all these virtues and acquirements he was phlegmatic and reserved, indolent and indecisive, and too much absorbed in his passion for letters and love of sedentary occupations. The pompous account preserved by a contemporary writer, of the pursuits of the imperial philosopher, might excite the admiration of his contemporaries, but will probably provoke a smile from the modern reader; "With astrologers and alchymists, he penetrated into the hidden and mysterious majesty of nature. Instructed by them, he not only developed the planetary motions, but learnt the combination and influence of fortunate stars; and comprehended and predicted the most sublime things. So great was his proficiency in alchymy, that by adding

bunals of Westphalia had the audacity to send him a summons, requiring his appearance at their judicial meetings.

colours to common pebbles, he seemed to transform them into diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires; he transmuted quicksilver into gold, and from a few drops of water, procured a specific for many diseases." To these fantastic occupations did Frederic dedicate not only his leisure hours, but even sacrificed the duties of government, at a time when the situation of his affairs required the full force of his intellect, and demanded the entire employment of his time. For these did he often abandon his fairest projects, and even when his caprice or interest had led him to the field, he shrunk from difficulties and exertions, and sought pleasures and repose in the laboratory and the library.

Like his great uncle Rhodolph, he was attached to the study of antiquities and heraldry, and like him formed alphabets of mysterious characters, and whimsical devices. A species of anagram, consisting of the five vowels, he adopted as indicative of the future greatness of the house of Austria, imprinted it on all his books, carved it on all his buildings, and engraved it on all his plate. This riddle occupied the grave heads of his learned contemporaries, and gave rise to many ridiculous conjectures; till the *important* secret was disclosed after his death by an interpretation written in his own hand, in which the vowels form the initials of a sentence in Latin and German, signifying, "the house of Austria is to govern the whole world."* He wrote a diary of his life in Latin, filled his tablets with proverbs, apophthegms, and moral sentences, from the poets and philosophers, and consoled himself with doling them out in the midst of his misfortunes and disappointments.

His great defect was a want of activity, and a dread of exertion; yet it is singular that a man of so indolent, inactive, and studious a disposition, in the midst of such difficulties and distresses, should have contributed so greatly to the aggrandisement of his family. But in fact, his character, manners, and temper, were not calculated to provoke opposition; he damped the energy, and wearied the exertions, of his more active and enterprising antago-

* Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo.
Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Unterthan.
Fugger, p. 1080.

nists, by patient perseverance; pursued his designs with unabated pertinacity; and, like the pliant reed, with which he was fond of comparing himself, bent under the fury of the storm, to rise again unbroken on the return of calmness and serenity.

Frederic espoused Eleanor, daughter of Edward, king of Portugal, by Elizabeth, princess of Castile. She was born in 1434, and much admired for her beauty, understanding, talents, and piety. After her coronation at Rome, she followed the example of former empresses, and changing her name, styled herself Helena. She died in 1467, leaving two surviving children, Maximilian *, who succeeded his father, and Cunegunda. Cunegunda was promised first to Ladislaus, son of Casimir, king of Poland, and afterwards to Matthias, king of Hungary, but neither of these marriages taking place, she espoused in 1467 Albert, duke of Bavaria. After the death of her husband, she entered into a convent, and died in 1520.

CHAP. XX. — MAXIMILIAN I. — 1493.

To an aged, feeble, and parsimonious sovereign, succeeded Maximilian, an active and liberal prince, in the prime of manhood, whose character and situation encouraged the hope of a glorious administration.

As his reign forms a new epoch in the history of his family, and as from that period the house of Austria embraced a larger sphere of action, it is necessary to review the relative situation of the European states, as the means of forming a true estimate of his power, and tracing the real motives of his political conduct.

* The name of Maximilian had at this time never been borne by any of the Austrian family, and was an unusual appellation in Europe. The industry of the Austrian biographers has discovered a saint Maximilian, bishop of Lork, and martyr, in the third century; and they conjecture that the young prince received this name in consequence of a vow made by his father, during the siege of Vienna. But with Fugger, we may, with more probability, ascribe the adoption of this name to the whimsical opinions of Frederic, who is said to have formed it, after consulting the stars, from combining the appellations of Fabius MAXIMUS and Paulus ÆMILIUS.

France, after gradually declining in reputation and extent of dominion from the height which she had attained under the empire of Charlemagne, had recently revived under Charles VII., and his artful and politic successor Louis XI. By a concurrence of fortunate events the English had been expelled from all their possessions except Calais; the great fiefs of Provence, Dauphiné, and Burgundy had been reunited to the crown, and by the recent acquisition of Brittany, France not only obtained a considerable accession of naval and territorial strength, but was delivered from a never-failing source of external aggression and internal dissension. The establishment of the Salic law prevented those disputes for the succession of the female line which always agitated other countries; the depression of the feudal system, the power of imposing taxes without the consent of the states, together with the establishment of a standing army, rendered the crown independent; a warlike and restless race of nobles were reduced to obedience, and being no longer able to exert their turbulent valour in their own country, aspired to signalise themselves in foreign contests. Their ardour was seconded by their young and ambitious sovereign Charles VIII., who, eager to distinguish the commencement of his reign by a splendid achievement, was preparing to assert those pretensions of his family to the crown of Naples which were derived from the house of Anjou, and which the policy of his father had suffered to remain dormant.*

Before 1477, France and the house of Austria had no subject of rivalry or jealousy, and their political interests were as distant as their respective dominions. But the marriage of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy, entailed on the two powers an hereditary enmity, which deluged Europe with blood for more than three centuries. This enmity arising from jarring interests and contiguity of dominion, was rendered personal by the rupture of the marriage of Maximilian with Anne of Brittany, and the

* René, duke of Anjou and titular king of Naples, dying in 1480, without issue male, his claims were inherited by his nephew Charles count of Provence and Maine, who declared Louis XI. heir to his estates and his pretensions to Naples.

dismission of the archduchess Margaret; and though suspended by treaties and temporary expedients, was continually breaking out on every trifling occasion.

The petty kingdom of Navarre derived its sole consequence from its situation between France and Spain, and only deserves notice as the source of endless contention between the two powers. The male line of the ancient kings being extinct in 1425, it came by marriage into the house of Foix, and at this period was ruled by John d'Albret, a prince of the blood royal of France, in virtue of his marriage with Catherine de Foix.

Under the martial reigns of the Edwards and Henries, England had enlarged those possessions in France which were derived from the Norman race, and had taken an active part in the affairs of Europe; but during the bloody wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, she had gradually been deprived of her foreign territories, and at the same time lost her influence on the Continent. Henry VII., who now filled the throne, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., united the claims of the two houses without conciliating the partisans of the house of York. Though intrepid and decisive, he was equally vigilant and cautious, and as he ruled a restless and discontented people by a disputed title, he rendered his foreign engagements subservient to his system of internal policy, and concentrated his principal efforts to maintain his authority at home by a firm and vigorous administration. He had recently dictated terms of peace to James IV. of Scotland, and had thus secured a temporary relief from the inroads of his turbulent neighbours; but notwithstanding all his vigilance, address, and good fortune, his whole reign had been agitated by insurrections, and he was at this moment embarrassed by the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck, who, personating Richard of York, was favoured by the disaffected in England, secretly countenanced by the kings of France and Scotland, and openly supported by Margaret of Burgundy, the mother-in-law of Maximilian. These intestine troubles, and the delicacy of his situation, increased the natural caution of Henry; and even had no personal coolness remained in consequence of his defection during the war of Brittany, would have rendered him

averse to participate in the romantic projects meditated by Maximilian against France.

Scotland at this time was of too little weight, both in regard to its power and the character of the sovereign James IV., to be considered in the great scale of European policy, and is chiefly remarkable in consequence of its subservience to France during a war with England, and the power which it gave to France of baffling and dividing the exertions of her rival.

In the commencement of the eighth century, the Saracens or Moors conquered from the Gothic sovereigns, who succeeded to the Roman domination, the greater part of Spain, confined the Christians to the mountains of Biscay and Andalusia, and established the kingdoms of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, and Grenada. But in the ninth century, the Christians emerging from their fastnesses, founded the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, and confined the Mahometans to Grenada. The rising greatness of the Christian power was, however, retarded by the rival interests of the different monarchs, and the mutual dismemberment of their respective territories, till at length Leon and Castile were united in 1229; and in 1469, the aggrandisement of the Christian power was completed by the union of Castile* and Arragon, in consequence of the marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic with Isabella, daughter of Edward I., king of Castile.

The sudden splendour and greatness of Spain were, however, not more owing to the union of the two kingdoms, than to the personal characters and great talents of the two sovereigns. After some opposition, they succeeded in curbing the exorbitant power of the nobles, and, instead of the feudal courts, established a more equitable system of jurisprudence. They defended the rights and property of the people in opposition to the encroachments of the aristocracy; favoured the growing weight and consequence of the towns, as well by promoting trade as by affording security to public and private property; and they wrested from the barons those royal demesnes which had been

* Castile at this period comprehended the provinces of Old and New Castile, Leon, Gallicia, the Asturias, and Andalusia. Arragon comprised Biscay, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and the Balearic Islands.

alienated by the profuse bounty of their predecessors. By annexing also the three military orders of St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara to the crown, Ferdinand considerably augmented his revenues; and by appropriating those high dignities, which rendered the masters rivals and almost equals of the sovereign, removed a cause of perpetual opposition to the measures of government.

At length the conquest of the Moorish kingdom of Grenada delivered them from a domestic enemy, which had kept them in perpetual apprehension, and enabled Ferdinand, who, in 1492, had added Sicily* to his other dominions, to interfere in the affairs of Europe. He was thus enabled to avail himself of the advantages which he derived from his well-regulated finances, his powerful navy, and his numerous and disciplined troops, inured to war by the long contests with the Moors, which had preceded the subjugation of Grenada.

Ferdinand and Isabella, however, had not confined their attention to the affairs of the Continent, but were still more fortunate than their neighbours, the Portuguese, in the pursuit of maritime discoveries. After repeated disappointments, and being rejected by the courts of Portugal and England, the celebrated Columbus obtained the patronage of Isabella, and was enabled to execute his vast and daring plan for the discovery of a western passage to the Indies. He had at this time returned from his first voyage, having reached Cuba and Hispaniola, and laid the foundation of that empire which spread over the richest part of the western world, and brought such a vast accession of territory, and such mines of treasure to Spain and the Spanish branch of the house of Austria.

Various subjects of jealousy existed between Ferdinand and the kings of France. With a view to extend his power on the side of the Pyrenees, he formed pretensions to Navarre, and he coveted the kingdom of Naples, which had been appropriated by the illegitimate branch of his family, no less from its vicinity to and connection with Sicily, than from a desire of increasing his influence in Italy. This jealousy of France led Ferdinand to court Maximilian, and the two sovereigns had already commenced

* [That island had however, appertained to the kingdom of Arragon for 200 years before his time.] *Edinburgh Review.*

that negotiation which afterwards led to a double intermarriage of their families, and transferred to the house of Austria the vast and important acquisition of the Spanish territories.

After the decline of the Roman empire, Portugal, which, under the name of Lusitania, had formed a province of Spain, was successively subdued by the Vandals, Goths, and Moors, and finally raised into a Christian sovereignty by the descendants of Henry, grandson of Robert, duke of Burgundy. Impelled by youthful ardour and the spirit of enterprise, Henry repaired to the court of Alphonso VI., king of Castile, who had espoused his aunt Constantia. At the head of his gallant retainers, he performed such essential services against the Moors, that Alphonso in 1095, rewarded him with his daughter in marriage, and conferred on him as a fief the provinces of Entra Minho and Douro. He gradually enlarged this domain by successive conquests, and his son Alphonso, after a victory over the Moors, in 1139, being proclaimed king on the field of battle, threw off all dependence on Castile, and founded a sovereignty of which Lisbon became the capital. His successors continued gradually to increase their territories, and under Alphonso III., the conquest of Algarve, in 1249, completed the expulsion of the Moors, and enlarged the boundaries of Portugal to their present extent.

The male line of his posterity became extinct in Ferdinand I., who died in 1313, leaving, by an adulterous connection with Leonora Telles, divorced wife of John Da Cunha, an only daughter Beatrice, the queen of John I., king of Castile. On his death Beatrice was proclaimed queen, and her mother Leonora assumed the reins of government; but the natives detesting the queen dowager, and disdaining the rule of a Spanish prince, expelled Leonora, and conferred the crown on John, natural son of Peter I., grand master of Avis. John maintained his dignity by his consummate policy and courage; assisted by the zeal of his subjects, and supported by his father-in-law, John of Gaunt, he repelled the attacks of the king of Castile, and closed, at the age of seventy-seven, a long and glorious reign of fifty years. The affection of his subjects was attested by the endearing appellation of Father of his Country, and King of beloved Memory; and his de-

scendants inherited his virtues and abilities as well as his crown. Under his family the Portuguese attained a higher degree of splendour and celebrity than the narrow limits of their country, and its vicinity to Spain, seemed to allow. Although their efforts by land were principally confined to the defence of their independence, their maritime situation enabled them to push their discoveries along the coast of Africa; and they were at this time preparing for that celebrated expedition which opened a passage by sea to the Indies, and diverted into a new channel the riches and commerce of the East.

The reigning sovereign was John II., who, like Ferdinand the Catholic, Louis of France, and Henry of England, had extended the prerogatives of the crown, curbed the refractory spirit of the barons, and repressed internal discontents, by the firmness and severity of his administration. This great monarch, who was called by his subjects The Perfect Prince, seems to have formed a system of policy far superior to the narrow principles of the age. By declaring Lisbon a free port, and reducing the duties on imports and exports, he drew to his capital an immense trade from all parts of the world; although connected by blood and friendship with Maximilian, he sedulously avoided all foreign alliances which might involve him in the contests of Europe, and seemed only anxious to maintain internal security and external peace, that he might freely prosecute the discoveries which had been commenced under the patronage of his uncle, prince Henry, the father of modern navigation.

The three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were united by the celebrated Margaret, daughter of Waldemar III., the Semiramis of the north, and rendered hereditary in 1397, by the union of Calmar. Her nephew and successor, Eric of Pomerania, was expelled from the throne; and, after a violent struggle, Christopher, a prince of Bavaria, and nephew of Eric, was elected by the Danes, and acknowledged by the natives of Norway and Sweden, in 1444. He fixed his residence at Copenhagen, and being wholly employed in the affairs of the north, and in securing his precarious sovereignty, seems to have had little intercourse with the states of Germany, notwithstanding his

affinity to the house of Bavaria, and his marriage with a German princess of the house of Brandenburgh. Christopher dying without issue, the union of Calmar was dissolved; the Danes and Norwegians chose Christian, count of Oldenburgh, and the Swedes raised to the throne Charles Canutson, great marshal of the kingdom. This divided choice occasioned a violent contest, in which Sweden was alternately conquered and emancipated, and, at the accession of Maximilian, the thrones of Denmark and Norway were filled by John, the second sovereign of the house of Oldenburgh, while Sweden, under his nominal authority, was ruled by Steno Sture, as administrator of the kingdom.

During the contests for the crown of Sweden, Frederic supported the house of Oldenburgh with all his influence in the empire, and invested Christian with Holstein, Storman, and Ditmarsh, which were erected into a duchy. Maximilian, no less inclined to favour a family devoted to the house of Austria, had, soon after his accession, the satisfaction of seeing John publicly acknowledged and crowned king of Sweden at Upsala; and thus the three northern kingdoms were again united under one head.

Russia, or rather Muscovy, scarcely known to the more southern nations of Europe before the middle of the fifteenth century, was only regarded as a barbarous part of Asia. Confined on the south-east by the Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, or by ferocious hordes of Calmucs, circumscribed on the north by the powerful republic of Novogorod, pressed on the west by Poland, and destitute of any communication with the Baltic, the Muscovites were immersed in ignorance, and totally unacquainted with arts and commerce. But this torpid mass was animated and propelled into action by Ivan Vassilievitch I., who ascended the throne in 1462, and is justly esteemed the founder of Russian greatness. On his accession the sovereign or great duke of Muscovy was tributary to the chan of the Tartars, and his territories were confined to the present provinces of Moscow and Vlodomir. But in the course of a long and prosperous reign, Ivan subdued Novogorod, the power of which had become proverbial*, conquered the duchy of

* Before the fall of Novogorod it was a common expression, "Who can resist the gods and great Novogorod?"

Twer, annexed to his other dominions the provinces of Permia and Ugoria, and liberated his country from the Tartar yoke. He thus extended his territories on the north as far as the Frozen Ocean, and the frontiers of Ingria and Livonia, on the west to Lithuania, on the east to the barbarous tribes of Siberia, and on the south almost to the shores of the Caspian. Nor where the talents of this able monarch confined to military achievements alone. He created the commerce of his country, and opened a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auspices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the foundry of canon were first introduced into Russia; he strengthened his towns with new fortifications, and established a system of military discipline among his hitherto lawless troops. In proportion as he raised the power of his country his alliance was courted by the European sovereigns; during his reign Moscow saw, for the first time, ambassadors from the emperor of Germany, the pope, the sultan, the kings of Poland, and Denmark, and the republic of Venice; he himself sent an embassy to Rome, to negotiate a union between the Greek and Latin churches; and we shall shortly find Maximilian courting his alliance and friendship against the king of Poland.

The crown of Poland was elective, but generally continued in the same family. On the death of Louis the Great, king of Hungary and Poland, without male issue, a new dynasty was established by Ladislaus Jaghellon, who espoused Hedwige, the daughter of Louis. He annexed Lithuania to Poland; but this union was for a long time merely nominal, because the Lithuanians elected successive monarchs from the family of Jaghellon, and maintained their independence against all the efforts of the Poles. Casimir IV., son of Jaghellon, who before his election to the crown of Poland was duke of Lithuania, united the two countries under the same head; but on his death they were again separated: his eldest son, Ladislaus, was elected king of Hungary and Bohemia; his second, John Albert, succeeded to the throne of Poland; his third, Alexander, became duke of Lithuania; and his fourth, Sigismond, duke of Glogau. Such was the division of the Jaghellon family, and the situation of Poland and Lithuania at the accession

of Maximilian. The king of Poland had been engaged in perpetual contests with the dukes of Muscovy for the possession of Smolensko and the adjacent districts; and for several centuries his predecessors had maintained a constant warfare with the Teutonic knights, which, in 1466, had been recently terminated to the great advantage of Poland, by the acquisition of Western Prussia. In these auspicious circumstances, Albert, the reigning sovereign, succeeded to the crown of Poland, and in the subsequent year his alliance was courted by the Venetians and the Turks.

The powerful order of Teutonic knights derived their origin from the humble establishment of a charitable society, composed of citizens of Bremen and Lubeck, who, during the siege of St. John d'Arc, in 1189, associated for the care of the sick and wounded. They were afterwards raised to an order of knighthood, in imitation of the Templars, by Frederic Barbarossa, and governed by an elective grand master. Becoming a military body, they established their reputation by frequent crusades against the infidels; and being called on by the duke of Massovia, to oppose the Prussians, who were then pagans, laid the foundation of their future grandeur, by acquiring the province of Culm. From this trifling acquisition of territory, they extended their sway over the duchy of Prussia, Courland, and Livonia, and thus became masters of the richest and most commercial provinces of the north. In continual contests with Poland, they had more than once nearly conquered Lithuania; but being vanquished by Casimir, they had purchased a peace by ceding what was afterwards called Polish or Western Prussia, with the city of Marienburgh, the residence of the grand master, and were even compelled to do homage for the eastern division of Prussia. The territory possessed by the Teutonic knights being, however, considered as a dependency of the German empire, Frederic had encouraged them in their refusal to do homage, and Maximilian was inclined to follow the example of his father, and secure to the empire the co-operation of so powerful a body.

A material change in regard to the house of Austria had taken place in the situation of Hungary and Bohemia.

While those crowns had been worn by different sovereigns, the Austrian princes had fomented the mutual jealousy of the two nations, and had generally secured the alliance of one against the other. But the union of both on one head in the person of Ladislaus, in 1417, removed the cause of this perpetual interference, and rendered it the interest of Maximilian to cultivate the friendship of a powerful neighbour, whose enmity might prevent him from prosecuting his designs on France and Italy. As Ladislaus was at this time without children, Maximilian had an additional motive to maintain a good understanding with a sovereign to whom he hoped to succeed in virtue of numerous and recent family compacts.

Ladislaus himself was fortunately a prince of a meek and pacific temper, whose chief objects were to maintain the internal peace of his dominions, and to resist the perpetual attacks of the Turks; and his views were promoted by a temporary revolution in the manners and sentiments of his turbulent subjects, who, in the enjoyment of tranquillity, under a mild and placid administration, seemed to suspend their mutual animosities, and to forget that jealousy of the crown which had rendered Hungary and Bohemia a scene of incessant commotion. Ladislaus also enjoyed the advantage of living on terms of amity with Poland, and maintained a family compact which was cemented equally by affection and interest with his father Casimir, and his brothers who successively filled that throne.

Mahomet II., sultan of the Turks, restrained to the banks of the Danube by John Hunniades and his brave son Matthias Corvinus, and curbed in the Mediterranean by the desperate resistance of the knights of St. John, who defended Rhodes against all his efforts, had pushed his arms on the side of Italy. His vizir Achmet, landing a considerable force on the coast of Apuleia, captured Otranto, and with a view to maintain possession of a fortress which opened a passage to Naples and Rome, placed in it a garrison of 20,000 men, and supplied it with provisions for a year. All the attempts of the Neapolitan court to recover Otranto failing of success, a general consternation prevailed throughout Italy; as no single power was ca-

pable of resisting his progress, and the different states were too much at variance, and too jealous of each other to enter into a combination for mutual defence. Sixtus IV., alarmed at the proud vaunt of the sultan, that he would feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter's, was preparing to abandon Rome, and Italy seemed in danger of becoming a Turkish province.

In this imminent crisis, Italy and Europe were delivered by the sudden death of Mahomet, in 1481, in the full vigour of his age and faculties, and while he meditated schemes of farther conquest. No event was ever more opportune and fortunate for Christendom, than the decease of a sultan who had annihilated the Greek empire, extended and consolidated the vast power derived from his predecessors; whose antipathy to the Christian name was rendered still more formidable by his military skill and enterprising spirit; and who, while he spread terror by his conquests abroad, awed his heterogeneous and turbulent subjects at home, by the splendour of his talents and the vigour of his government.

His son, Bajazet II., inherited neither his talents, fortune, nor activity. The commencement of his reign was embarrassed by the rebellion of his younger brother Zizim, who long contested the supreme authority, and diverted his attention from foreign expeditions. Nor did the total defeat and flight of Zizim leave him in a situation to renew the designs of his father. Otranto was recovered by the Neapolitan forces; and Zizim, after having sought the protection of the knights of Rhodes, found an asylum first in the court of France, and afterwards at Rome, and thus became a pledge for the safety of Italy. At the same time Bajazet was harassed by troubles in his Asiatic dominions, by a petty though lingering war in Circassia, and exhausted by expensive and unsucessful efforts for the subjugation of Egypt. In consequence of these multiplied embarrassments, the attacks of the Turks were diverted from Christendom; and except a few desultory incursions on the borders of Hungary, of which the principal object was plunder, and a predatory expedition of the Turkish fleet on the coast of Andalusia, Europe, at the accession of Maximilian, had enjoyed a repose of almost fifteen years,

from the formidable scourge of Christendom; and Venice alone, whose situation, interests, and intermixture of territories, had long exposed her to Turkish aggression, was the only state of Europe which seemed to apprehend an attack from the Ottoman arms.

From the time in which the house of Austria had been deprived of all its territories in Helvetia, the Swiss confederacy had increased in power and influence. Their union had been strengthened in 1481 by the accession of Soleure and Friburgh*, and except the Pays de Vaud,

* The city of Friburgh, in the Uchtland, remarkable for its long and invariable attachment to the house of Austria, was almost the latest of its possessions in Switzerland. It suffered greatly during the wars between the house of Austria and the Swiss Cantons, and still more during the contests between the Cantons themselves. I was likewise exposed to the enmity of the powerful princes of Savoy, who had disputed the sovereignty with the house of Austria. In this situation, without support from the Austrian princes, and embarrassed with intestine commotions, the burghers were divided into different parties. Some proposed to submit to the house of Savoy, and others to unite with the Swiss confederates, by the intervention of Bern, with whom they were in coburghership; but the majority preserved their attachment to their original sovereigns. Their distresses increasing, they were at length (1448) induced to enter into a treaty of friendship with the house of Savoy.

Albert, the brother of the emperor Frederic, who seems to have been at this period considered as sovereign of the town, was highly displeased with the alliance, and repairing to Friburgh, imprisoned some of the principal magistrates, sent others to Friburgh in the Brisgau, and extorted heavy fines for their release. As he was unable to defend a place so distant from the other Austrian territories, or to supply his rapacity by farther exactions from the burghers, he resolved to abandon the town to its fate; but instead of granting the inhabitants their freedom with honour and magnanimity, he acted with a meanness and rapacity which disgraced his high station and illustrious birth.

The marshal of the court having announced his intention of visiting the town (1450) borrowed from the most wealthy their plate, ornaments, and costly furniture, under the pretext of preparing for his reception. The magistrates and principal persons accordingly went out to receive their sovereign; but instead of being honoured with a visit, they were met by the marshal, at the head of a troop of horse, who declared that "the duke his master would not oppose their wishes to form an alliance with the Helvetic states; but as a compensation for this favour," he added, "I have packed up your plate and furniture for the use of the duke." This extraordinary intelligence was accompanied with the delivery of a formal deed, absolving them from their

which belonged to the house of Savoy, Neufchatel, subject to its own counts, and the Italian baillages, which were dependent on Milan, they or their allies possessed almost the whole country which is now called Switzerland. The Helvetic body thus becoming an important link in the chain of European powers, their alliance was courted with much solicitude and intrigue by the greatest potentates, and they were induced to take an active part in the wars of the continent. Their leaders accepted foreign subsidies in their collective capacity, and considerable pensions and bribes as individuals. Their youth, enriched by spoil and estranged from habits of industry, became impatient of domestic tranquillity, and in open defiance of the most rigid prohibitions from the magistrates, enlisting in foreign service, displayed abroad the same heroism which they had exerted in defence of their own country.

The disputes between the house of Austria and France, for the succession of Burgundy and the possession of Brittany, and the almost constant hostilities to which these disputes gave rise, occasioned earnest and repeated solicitations from the house of Austria and France for an intimate union with the Swiss confederates. Louis XI. gained considerable influence among the Cantons by his private largesses to the leading men, his public subsidies, and the great privileges which he granted to those who served in his armies and settled in France. During the latter part of his reign, indeed, he forfeited the confidence of the Cantons, by withholding his bounties and subsidies; but his son Charles regained their friendship by discharging

oath of allegiance. The burghers, equally embarrassed with the gift of their liberty and the loss of their valuables, after some endeavours to maintain their independence, threw themselves under the protection of the house of Savoy, to whom they remained subject till the close of the Burgundian war, when the town was restored to freedom, and soon afterwards, with Soleure, admitted into the Swiss confederacy.

The admission of Friburgh and Soleure was warmly opposed by the Helvetic Cantons, and nearly occasioned a civil war. A compromise was, however, effected, by the intervention of Nicholas de Flue, the celebrated hermit of Underwalden; and the two towns became members of the confederacy, under conditions which rendered them subordinate to the others, which from that period were styled The Eight ancient Cantons.

the arrears and renewing the former connections. Maximilian, from the moment of his accession, was likewise desirous to form an alliance with the Swiss, and to obtain a renewal of the hereditary union; but the superior influence of France, as well as their natural jealousy of the house of Austria, induced them to reject all his offers.

That part of Rhætia called the country of the Grisons, was originally a dependency of the German empire, and subject to feudal lords, the bishop of Coire, the abbot of Disentis, the counts of Werdenberg, Sax and Masox, the baron of Retzuns, and the count of Tockenburgh. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century the people emancipated themselves from feudal jurisdiction; but their chiefs consenting to this emancipation, were suffered to retain considerable prerogatives; and thus the government became a singular mixture of aristocracy and democracy. The country was divided into a number of little communities under different forms of government: a few aristocratical, others popular, and some more democratical than even the rural cantons of Switzerland. These communities composed three leagues, called the Grey League, the League of God's House, and the League of Ten Jurisdictions; and these by means of a general diet formed one republic. The people, hardened amidst the rugged rocks and perpetual snows of the Rhætian Alps, were a rude, hardy, and warlike race, froward and licentious, impatient of control, and no less distinguished from the rest of mankind by their singular customs and manners, than by their situation and forms of government.

The bishop of Coire, the principal member of the League of God's House, had been engaged in perpetual contests with the sovereigns of the Tyrol, relative to the demarcation of the frontiers, the profits of mines and territorial possessions; and those disputes were aggravated by rival pretensions to the advocacy of the abbey of Munster*, which had been claimed by the sovereigns of the Tyrol. Another object of dispute was the valley of Prettigau†,

* The abbey of Munster is situated in and gives name to the Munster Thal, a community of the League of God's House.

† Maximilian had purchased the Prettigau from the counts of Metsch.

which forming the intermediate link between the Tyrol and the League of Ten Jurisdictions, was coveted by both parties. Amidst these contrary pretensions and jarring interests, various feudal privileges in the barony of Retzuns, a community of the League of God's House, and in the whole League of Ten Jurisdictions, purchased by Sigismond, and transmitted to Maximilian, contributed to render him obnoxious to the Grison republics. These contests with Maximilian had overcome the jealousy which the Grisons had hitherto fostered against the Swiss, and soon after his accession, the Rhætian leagues united with the Swiss states in a formal confederacy, a union from which the house of Austria experienced the most fatal effects.

Italy, which during the reign of Maximilian became the theatre of war and rivalry, fixed the attention of Europe as the seat of religion and literature, the great emporium of commerce, and the focus of that system of policy which extended its ramifications over the Christian world; hence every accession of influence became the object of envy and contention, and to every acquisition of territory was attached far more importance, than its real weight in the balance of power deserved. Under Otho I., Italy was conquered and united to the German empire ; and although it was afterwards alienated under the subsequent emperors, and parcelled out into different principalities and states, the heads of the empire still retained their claims and feudal superiority over every part, except those districts which had been ceded to the church; particularly to Piemont, Genoa, the Milanese, including Parma and Placentia, Venetian Lombardy, the Friuli, Modena, and Reggio, Mantua, Florence, Pisa, and Siena. The first object of the emperors was the establishment of their authority in that quarter of Europe: the coronation at Monza as king of Lombardy, and at Rome as emperor, contributed to keep alive their pretensions ; and in all ages, even when the imperial power was least respected, the chiefs of the empire had maintained the name and shadow of authority, by exercising the right of investiture and other privileges of a feudal sovereign.

The duchy of Milan, which had been augmented by the recent acquisition of Geneo, Parma, and Placentia, was

held by John Galeas, grandson of Francis Sforza, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age. But he was the nominal rather than the real sovereign; for his uncle Ludovico, surnamed Il Moro, had obtained the regency during his minority, and still directed the administration of affairs. He was a prince of splendid talents, attractive manners, and great penetration; but he possessed a perfidious heart, and was capable of bursting asunder all the ties of blood and duty, for the gratification of his inordinate ambition. From his situation and power, no less than from his spirit and talents, he was admired as the first statesman of the age, and after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici was regarded as the arbitrator of Italy.

The young duke was of a meek and placid disposition; and till his marriage with Isabella, daughter of Alphonso, prince of Calabria, had submitted without a murmur to the sway of his uncle. But the princess possessing a spirit and understanding far superior to her husband, indignantly bore the control of Ludovico, and at her instigation her grandfather, the king of Naples, entered into a league with Florence to release Galeas from bondage. The ambitious Ludovico, instead of resigning the administration of affairs, formed the plan of obtaining the investiture of Milan from Maximilian, under the pretence that his nephew had never been confirmed in his possessions by the head of the empire; and by exciting the king of France to assert a claim to the crown of Naples, in virtue of the right derived from the house of Anjou, he hoped to divert Alphonso from interfering in the affairs of Milan. He carried his double intrigue into execution with consummate address; he easily succeeded in rousing the ambition of so young and high-spirited a prince as Charles VIII.; he also gained Maximilian, by offering him his niece Bianca Maria in marriage, with a liberal portion of 400,000 ducats; and the solemnisation of the nuptials was almost the first act of the reign of Maximilian.

The house of Savoy, whose territories commanded the passes of the Alps, and who were sovereigns of Piemont, was represented by Charles II., an infant in the third year of his age. He was under the guardianship of his mother, Blanche, daughter of the count of Montserrat, who entered

into the views of the crafty regent of Milan, and was ready to facilitate the passage of the French across the Alps.

The Venetians had continued to increase in power, influence, and wealth, and although they had lost some of their possessions in the Archipelago and Greece to the Turks, had in return acquired the important islands of Candia and Cyprus *, and on the continent had obtained Ravenna, the capital of Romagna. By almost monopolising the commerce of the East, the Venetians had rendered themselves the factors of Europe, and had extended their connections throughout Germany, and to the remote regions of Muscovy. By the acquisition of vast wealth, they were enabled to keep in pay a powerful army of mercenary troops, headed by the most able generals of the age; and from their encroaching spirit and systematic policy, would probably have swallowed up the other states of Italy, had not their progress been checked by the union of Milan, Florence, and Naples. As many of their acquisitions were originally fiefs of the empire or possessions of the house of Austria, they were from principle and habit jealous of the emperors, and particularly suspicious of Maximilian, who was not likely to suffer his claims to remain dormant.

The republic of Florence, after being exposed to all the storms of civil discord and external war, had attained a happy state of prosperity under the fostering care of the house of Medici. Lorenzo the Magnificent, the patron of letters, science, and arts, and the first scholar and statesman of his age, had died on the 8th of April, ~~1592~~, 1492 the year preceding the accession of Maximilian. Without the name or pomp of sovereignty, appearing only

* The male line of the family of Lusignan, sovereigns of Cyprus, becoming extinct in 1458, by the death of John II., his sister Charlotte was proclaimed queen, and shared the regal authority with her husband Louis, count of Geneva, brother of Amadeus IX., duke of Savoy. She was, however, deposed by James her natural brother, who being supported by the Venetians, maintained himself on the throne. On his death his widow Catherine, a Venetian lady, of the family of Cornaro, ceded the island to the Venetians. Charlotte, the dethroned queen, dying without issue, conveyed, in 1487, her right, by a solemn surrender, to Charles I., count of Savoy, who already possessed claims in virtue of the marriage of Anne, sister of John II. of Cyprus, to Louis, the father of Amadeus IX. In virtue of this surrender, the dukes of Savoy assumed the title of kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

as a merchant and private citizen, he had ruled his turbulent countrymen with almost unbounded authority. While he had embellished his native city and maintained internal tranquillity, he had strengthened and consolidated its possessions; and by his address and foresight had preserved his country from foreign attacks. By the influence of his virtues, and the respect paid to his character, he had attained, without arms, a high degree of consideration, and while esteemed by the sovereigns of Europe, he was adored by his fellow-citizens, and regarded as the arbitrator of Italy, and the guardian of its tranquillity. With Lorenzo expired for a time the political importance of the house of Medici, and the ascendency of Florence; for his eldest son, Peter inherited neither his genius nor beneficence. Intoxicated with power, and incapable of copying the great example of his father, he sunk into disrespect abroad, and rendered his person and administration odious to his fellow-citizens; and the people of Florence only waited an opportunity to overthrow the power which had been silently established and maintained by the prudence of Lorenzo. The territories of the Florentine republic were of considerable importance in Italy from their local situation; but neither the character nor power of Peter rendered him capable of opposing an efficient barrier to the progress of the French arms. Though adverse to France, and united with the king of Naples, he participated in the jealousy which all the states of Italy fostered against Maximilian, in consequence of the dormant claims of the empire on Pisa and even on Florence itself.*

Ferrara, comprised among the vast possessions of the countess Matilda, was first a temporary republic, and afterwards appropriated by the house of Este, in virtue of their affinity to Matilda, and held as an imperial fief. At length, after the fruitless expedition of Louis of Bavaria into Italy, the sovereigns shook off their allegiance to the emperor, and recognised pope John XXII. as their liege lord; and from that period the succeeding pontiffs, considering Ferrara as a fief of the church, received an annual tribute from its sovereigns. In the middle of the fifteenth century it was raised into a duchy by pope Pius II.; and at the

* Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, and Leo X.

same time Modena and Reggio were conferred on the sovereigns of Ferrara, as a separate and imperial fief, by the emperor Frederic III. The reigning sovereign was Hercules I., who had engaged in the preceding wars, and entered into the league formed against the Venetians, by his father-in-law Ferdinand I., king of Naples, Ludovico Sforza, and the republic of Florence; but being deserted by his allies, he had been reduced to purchase a peace by the cession of the Polesino di Rovigo; and from resentment for their defection, was inclined to favour the views of Charles on the throne of his father-in-law.

Mantua, first an imperial city, and afterwards a republic, came into the possession of the house of Gonzaga, and was at this period governed by its own marquis, John Francis, a prince less distinguished for territorial possessions than for his military talents, and employed by the Venetians as the commander of their forces.

The popes must be considered in their double capacity as heads of the church, and as temporal princes. Their spiritual power had gradually declined; and that plenitude of authority which had dethroned monarchs, disposed of crowns, and agitated whole nations, had lost much of its influence. Germany had, in a public diet, declared itself independent of the pope; and even the minor princes of Europe disregarded or despised the thunders of the Vatican. The papal authority was circumscribed by the acknowledged superiority of a general council; and the great sovereigns of Europe were thus enabled to humble the pride or check the ambition of a domineering pontiff. At the same time the dominions of the Roman see were nearly confined to the neighbourhood of Rome, and the utmost extent of their real sovereignty did not stretch far beyond the territory of Perugio on the north, and on the south to the frontiers of Naples. Of those ample possessions which had been granted or confirmed by the emperors, the principal part had been appropriated by powerful families, and by the towns which aspired to independence, or conquered by the surrounding states. Thus the successors of St. Peter seemed likely to be reduced to the simplicity of the primitive bishops of Rome, and their influence and power to be limited to the religious reverence which long habit had im-

printed on the minds of men, and to the respect inspired by their personal character.

The church, however, still possessed immense revenues, derived from its spiritual jurisdiction, and the power of increasing those revenues by various means, particularly by the sale of dispensations and indulgences. These abundant sources of wealth enabled the subsequent pontiffs to maintain a military force, and to compensate for the diminution of their spiritual power by temporal acquisitions. The reigning pontiff, at the accession of Maximilian, was Alexander VI.* He possessed penetration, firmness, and vigilance, and these qualities were heightened by superior address and eloquence, and a princely and majestic deportment; but he was a monster of cruelty, vice, and depravity, and has rendered the name of Borgia proverbially infamous for profligacy and corruption of manners. By a Roman mistress he had several natural children, whom he publicly owned, for whose aggrandisement he was ready to sacrifice every consideration of religion, justice, honour, and policy. The refusal of the king of Naples to give in marriage Sancia, the natural daughter of Alphonso, prince of Calabria, to his son Geoffry, provoked his resentment, and he even evinced an inclination to promote the expedition of the king of France against Naples, by entering into a league with Ludovico Sforza and the Venetians. But the king of Naples having complied with this favourite request, Alexander withdrew from his alliance, and on the 14th of April, 1493, entered into a new engagement with the king of Naples, for the purpose of opposing the invasion of the French monarch.

Naples, the most powerful state of Italy, and a fief of the Roman see, had long been agitated by the contests of the rival houses of Anjou and Arragon, which were derived from different transfers of the crown, and the uncertain law of succession. Joan I., being attacked by her nephew, Charles of Durazzo, adopted Louis, count of Anjou, son of John, king of France, as her heir; but although she obtained the confirmation of the holy see, this adoption was

* Roderigo Lenzuoli, a native of Valenza, was maternal nephew of pope Calixtus III., whose surname of Borgia he adopted on being nominated cardinal.

frustrated by the success of Charles, who conquered Naples, and put her to death. Charles was succeeded by Ladislaus, surnamed the Magnanimous; and he dying without issue, his sister, Joan II., on whom the crown devolved, first adopted Alphonso * the Magnificent, king of Arragon, and afterwards called to the succession René, count of Anjou, grandson of Louis. On her death, in 1382, a contest ensued for the crown; and, after a struggle of seven years, Alphonso annexed Naples to Arragon and Sicily, to which he had succeeded by inheritance.

Alphonso dying without legitimate issue, in 1458, his rightful heir was his brother John, who inherited the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, and would have succeeded to Naples, had that crown been considered as hereditary. But as Alphonso had acquired Naples by conquest, he appointed his natural son Ferdinand his successor, and obtained the consent of the barons, and the confirmation of popes Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. Ferdinand succeeded to Naples after considerable opposition from pope Calixtus III., and many of the turbulent nobles, who invited John, son of René, count of Anjou, to accept the reins of government. He showed great prudence in suppressing the seditions of his subjects, and deserved praise for promoting manufactures and commerce, disciplining his army, and reforming the courts of justice; but he sullied his great qualities by severity and perfidy, and merits the detestation of posterity for one of the blackest acts of treachery which ever disgraced the pages of history. Having suppressed an insurrection of the barons, he consented to terms of reconciliation under the guarantee of the pope; but in the midst of a marriage festivity, he arrested the principal nobles, with their wives and children; some he secretly put to death, and others he affected to submit to a public trial, but by an arbitrary court of justice condemned them to execution at different times, and with different marks of cruelty. Although the country was thus terrified into apparent tranquillity, the people fostered the strongest aversion and abhorrence both against Ferdinand, and against his son Alphonso, to whom they attributed

* Alphonso was son of Ferdinand I., king of Arragon and Sicily, and uncle of Ferdinand the Catholic.

these unpopular and cruel acts; and their hopes of deliverance from his odious yoke were excited by the preparations of Charles VIII.

Germany, which formed an extensive territory, important from its local position, supported a numerous population, comprised an assemblage of rich and flourishing towns, and supplied a military force superior in numbers, and equal in valour and discipline, to the troops of any other country in Europe. It consisted of numerous sovereignties and states, independent of each other, and differing in extent and power; but all united in one system of government by means of a general diet, and under the direction of a single chief. With all these advantages, Germany had maintained in former times, and was still capable of maintaining, the preponderance among the nations of Europe; but from the jarring interests of the component parts, the circumscribed authority of the chief, and the division of the principal houses into numerous branches, it could never be brought to act with energy and vigour in external affairs, and its principal efforts were exerted in resisting foreign aggressions, and preserving internal tranquillity. This object was, however, less affected by public institutions than by family compacts among the princes, and separate associations among the states; of which the Hanseatic league in the north, and the Suabian league in the south, were the most conspicuous. The whole nation was absorbed in this single object; and to the maintenance of internal tranquillity sacrificed every consideration of public honour, military glory, and external advantage.

Such being the situation of Germany, Maximilian had little to expect from the support of the empire; and the condition of his own territories did not afford him a prospect of restoring the splendour and asserting the authority of the imperial crown, although he united all the hereditary possessions of his ancestors, except the dismembered parts of Helvetia, and ruled the extensive territories of Burgundy as guardian to his son Philip. Austria, the greatest and most important of these possessions, had been long occupied by Matthias Corvinus; and was drained by his exactions and the devastations of his army. No certain criterion has been preserved of the sum arising from the

revenues of Austria; but its appendages Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, did not yearly yield more than 14,000 marks of silver; and the profits of the mines of Tyrol, which were considered as the most valuable branch of the revenues of Maximilian, amounted only to the annual sum of 150,000 florins. The produce of the exterior dominions was scarcely worth notice, and was barely sufficient for the expenses of the administration, and the maintenance of a military force. The Burgundian territories, from their prosperity and wealth, yielded a more considerable revenue; but its application was under the control of the states, and Maximilian, soon after his accession, resigned the administration to the real sovereign, his son, the archduke Philip.

As emperor of Germany, Maximilian was indeed treated with all the majesty of human authority, considered as the first sovereign in Europe, served by kings and electors, and with his single word could confer even the regal title. But in reality this vast power existed principally in theory; the kings and electors, who, on occasions of pomp and ceremony, performed the offices of his household, were either his equals or superiors; and when influenced by interest or caprice, did not scruple to resist his authority. He succeeded to the claims of his predecessors on the numerous imperial fiefs of Germany and Italy, and was supposed to be invested with the supreme jurisdiction over the extensive territories and dependencies of the empire; but in reality he did not possess the smallest portion of that domain which belonged to the ancient emperors, or a single town, castle, or foot of land, as head of the empire. Instead of stated revenues, he was reduced to depend on the uncertain aids granted reluctantly by the diet; and his judicial authority was diminished by the municipal jurisdictions, which all the electors, and many of the princes, possessed within the precincts of their own dominions.

But in addition to these disadvantages, many of which had operated on the views and conduct of his immediate predecessors, Maximilian was peculiarly affected by a total revolution which had recently taken place in the policy and warfare of Europe, derived from the invention of gunpowder, and the discovery of printing.

Gunpowder, though perhaps not unknown to the eastern nations, appears not to have been applied to military purposes in Europe till about the middle of the fourteenth century. Roger Bacon, the celebrated English philosopher, who flourished in the thirteenth century, describes a composition not dissimilar to gunpowder; but Schwartz, a German chemist, early in the following century, seems to have been the first who ascertained the due proportion of the ingredients, and applied it to purposes of war. Mortars, bombards, and, as they were afterwards called, cannon, were at first heavy, awkward, and unwieldy, wider at the mouth than at the chamber, and only used in sieges, to discharge large stones at an elevation, like the mortars of modern times. Their construction was gradually improved; iron balls were substituted for stones; their effects became more certain and regular; they were introduced into the field of battle, and superseded the use of all other engines for the projection of missile weapons, which had been preserved since the times of antiquity. Necessity and ingenuity effected new improvements, and a smaller and more portable species, manageable only by two or three men, had been brought into common use about the commencement of the reign of Frederic.

The consequence of this invention was a total change in the military art, and in the relative strength of the European states. The petty holds, and fortified towns, which had enabled small states, and even individuals, to baffle the efforts of numerous armies, now became an easy prey; and those who had hitherto defied every enemy but famine, saw their lofty and ponderous walls demolished in a few days, or even in a few hours, by the force of this formidable agent. Nor were its effects less impressive in the field of battle; the cavalry, which had hitherto formed the principal nerve of the army, no longer decided the fate of battles by the force, unity, and celerity of their shock; the pride of chivalry was compelled to yield to that infantry which it had despised, and to relinquish to numbers and discipline the palm of military glory, which had so long been the meed of personal strength and skill in arms.

Infantry, of which the wonderful exploits of the Swiss and Bohemians had evinced the importance, became still

more necessary; the vassals lost their spirit and inclination for voluntary service; and the nobles disdained the use of the musket, which they stigmatised as a murderous, vulgar, and dastardly weapon. War could not, therefore, be maintained without regular and mercenary troops, and a numerous train of artillery; and thus those nations who possessed the greatest resources in money, were able to maintain hostilities a longer period, and push their enterprises to a greater distance, and with greater advantage. This change of system was severely felt by the house of Austria, which, when united, had been enabled to defy all enemies by the local position of territory, and the abundance of population. From this circumstance, no less than from an inefficient character, was derived the extreme weakness of Frederic, when compared with his predecessors, who with the same territories, during the prevalence of the feudal system, and before the use of artillery, had maintained the ascendency in Germany. Even Maximilian, who inherited the military talents and spirit of his warlike forefathers, and who possessed a greater extent of dominion, was depressed by the same causes, and equally failed in all his efforts, to regain the preponderance of his family, and recover the territorial dependencies of the empire.

Another and subsequent invention, which has produced a no less change in the public connections and private states of society, was the art of printing*; it took its rise about the middle of the fifteenth century, and in the course of a few years reached that height of improvement which

* A controversy has arisen concerning the first discoverer of the art of printing, between the three towns of Haerlem, Mentz, and Strasburgh, each, from a natural partiality, attributing it to their own countryman. The dispute, however, has turned rather on words than facts; and seems to have arisen from the different definitions of the word printing. If we estimate the discovery from the invention of the principle, the honour is unquestionably due to Laurence Costar, a native of Haerlem, who first found out the method of impressing characters on paper by means of carved blocks of wood. If moveable types be considered as a criterion, the merit of the discovery is due to John Guttenberg of Mentz; and Schepfer, in conjunction with Faust, were the first who founded types of metal. The modern improvement of stereotype printing may be considered as a recurrence to the first and simple principles of the art.

is scarcely surpassed even in the present times. The invention was at first rude and simple, consisting of whole pages carved on blocks of wood, and only impressed on one side of the leaf; the next step was the formation of moveable types in wood, and they were afterwards cut in metal, and finally rendered more durable, regular, and elegant, by being cast or founded.

The consequence of this happy and simple discovery was a rapid series of improvements in every art and science, and a general diffusion of knowledge among all orders of society. Hitherto the tedious, uncertain, and expensive mode of multiplying books by the hand of the copyist, had principally confined the treasures of learning to monasteries, or to persons of rank and fortune. Yet even with all the advantages of wealth, libraries were extremely scarce and scanty; and principally consisted of books of devotion, and superstitious legends, or the sophistical disquisitions of the schoolmen. An acquaintance with the Latin classics was a rare qualification, and the Greek language was almost unknown in Europe; but the art of printing had scarcely become general, before it gave a new impulse to genius, and a new spirit to inquiry. A singular concurrence of circumstances contributed to multiply the beneficial effects derived from this invention, among which the most considerable were the protection afforded to literature and the arts by the states of Italy, and the diffusion of Greek learning by the literati, who sought an asylum in Europe after the capture of Constantinople.

This general expansion of knowledge, besides the immediate effects on the manners, sentiments, and taste of the age, occasioned the introduction of new principles of government and jurisprudence into Germany. The good effects already derived from the establishment of the Suabian league, and the advantageous change which had taken place in other countries, from the suppression of private war and feudal jurisdiction, had enabled the Germans to understand and appreciate the advantages and principles of civil liberty, and led them to pant after a system of legal restraint, instead of the violent and uncertain remedy of private war, and the partial and interested decisions of the feudal courts. Hitherto the studies of the German universities had been

confined to the philosophy of Aristotle, and the scholastic theology of the times; but with the diffusion of classical learning, which was facilitated by the art of printing, the study of the canon and civil law became more respectable; its professors, raised to wealth and honours, began to share the consequence hitherto attached to arms and noble birth, and assumed that influence in society which they have since maintained.

The faculties of the human mind were excited and expanded in proportion as the acquisition of knowledge was facilitated, and at this fortunate period the same spirit of improvement seems to have pervaded every branch of art and science. Painting, which had revived in the preceding age, again gave life and grace to the canvas, and the efforts of this pleasing art were embodied by the use of colours in oil, invented at the commencement of the century. The sister arts and abstruse sciences advanced with equal pace. Architecture began to resume the grandeur of design, simplicity of decoration, and skill of disposition, which had distinguished the compositions of Greece and Rome; and, above all, the progress of navigation being promoted by the general use of the compass, and the improvement of nautical astronomy, new sources of knowledge and wealth were opened by the discovery of America, and of a passage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope. All these inventions and improvements operating at the same period, produced a ferment in the human mind scarcely credible in the present day, and sowed the seeds of those surprising revolutions in religion, government, and commerce, which commenced during the reign of Maximilian.

Chap. XXI. — 1493–1499.

Maximilian was at Innspruck on the death of Frederic, and commenced his reign by delivering Styria and Carniola from a horde of Turks, who had spread as far as Laybach. Unlike his inactive father, he did not leave the protection of his territories to his generals; but, collecting

in haste 15,000 men, led them against the infidels. The Turks, alarmed at his approach, precipitately retreated, and Maximilian, on his arrival at Vienna, was hailed as the deliverer of his country.

After attending the funeral of his father, and assuming the administration of the hereditary countries, he, on the 16th of March, 1494, again repaired to Innspruck, and espoused Bianca Maria, sister of John Galeas, the reigning duke, and niece of Ludovico, regent of Milan. The motives of Maximilian for concluding so unequal a match were the largeness of the dowry, which was an essential object to so needy a prince, and the desire of forming an alliance which might enable him to interfere with effect in the affairs of Italy. But he was bitterly reproached by the haughty nobles of Germany, whose indignant pride was shocked by the marriage of their chief into a low-born and illegitimate family. They accused him of contaminating his princely blood, and were so far influenced by their prejudices as to urge that, according to the law of Germany, the issue of this unequal match ought not to succeed to the inheritance. These clamours induced Maximilian to postpone the execution of the promise which he had made to invest Ludovico Sforza with the Milanese; and he delayed the investiture till after the death of John Galeas, the reigning prince, whom Ludovico endeavoured to depose.*

After concluding his marriage, Maximilian surrendered at Louvain the government of the Low Countries to his son Philip, who had attained the age of sixteen, and passed some time in suppressing an insurrection in Guelderland. Charles, son of Adolphus, duke of Guelderland, had been educated in the court of the Low Countries, and had served in arms under Maximilian, though watched with the same jealousy as a state prisoner. Escaping from this bondage, he fled into Guelderland, gained a considerable party, and, having surprised Ruremond and Nimeguen, was acknowledged by the majority of the natives. Maximilian hastened to suppress the revolt; but being called from this petty

* John Galeas died in December, 1494, after a gradual decline; but was supposed to have been poisoned by his uncle; a conjecture resting rather on the character and views of Ludovico than on any valid proof.

warfare by the events in Italy, he left the command and the government of the Low Countries to Albert, duke of Saxony, who quelled the insurrection, and expelled Charles from the country.

In the midst of these transactions, Charles VIII. had succeeded in his expedition against Naples with a rapidity which astonished and confounded Europe. He had secured the passage of the Alps by his alliance with the house of Savoy and Ludovico Sforza, and formed secret connections with the disaffected factions at Florence and Rome. In July he crossed the Alps, at the head of 16,000 infantry, and 6,000 horse; but was detained by sickness at Asti, in Piemont, till the middle of October. When recovered, he passed through the Milanese* into Tuscany, drove Peter de Medici into exile, liberated Florence from the domination of the Medici, and continuing his route through Pisa and Siena, entered Rome on the night of the 31st of December, at the head of his army, by torch light, and in complete armour as a conqueror. He compelled the pope, who had thrown himself into the castle of St. Angelo, to resign his strongholds, to promise him the investiture of Naples†, and to deliver his son Cæsar Borgia as an hostage. In the middle of January he marched towards Naples, which he reached on the 22nd of February. He then reduced the remainder of the kingdom, and in May again entered the capital in triumph as king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, mounted on a white steed, and bearing the ensigns of imperial dignity.‡ Alphonso, struck with a panic, resigned his crown

* At Pavia he visited his relation John Galeas, who was then at the point of death. During this interview Isabella, the wife of the dying prince, threw herself at his feet, and besought his protection for her husband and infant family; but ambition and policy rendered the youthful monarch insensible to the feelings of pity, or the claims of relationship. A few days afterwards John Galeas died, and Charles, though indifferent to the rights of his orphans, celebrated his obsequies with unavailing pomp and magnificence. — Comines, ch. vii.

† It has been doubted whether this investiture ever took place, though Guicciardini positively asserts it. See Guicciard., Muratori, and Roscoe's Leo the Tenth.

‡ It has been asserted by some writers, that Charles obtained from Andrew Paleologus, the last remaining member of the Byzantine dynasty, who had found an asylum at Rome, the cession of his right to the empire of the East, and in virtue of that cession assumed the

to his son Ferdinand, who, after an ineffectual attempt to rouse the people, took refuge in the isle of Ischia, and abandoned the kingdom to the conqueror.

The rapid progress of the French arms occasioned general consternation; and Maximilian in particular was highly incensed against the French king for assuming the symbols of imperial sovereignty, and still more alarmed by his unexpected success against Naples. A greater degree of consternation pervaded the states of Italy, who were more exposed to danger; and even Ludovico Sforza himself, who, on the death of his nephew, had assumed the sovereignty of Milan, was the first to come forward in this extremity. A secret league was accordingly concluded between the emperor, the pope, Milan, Florence, and the king of Arragon, of which the object was to reinstate Ferdinand in the possession of Naples, and to expel the French from Italy; the duration of the alliance was to be twenty-two years; the pope was to furnish 6000 men, and the rest of the Italian states 12,000, and the Venetians promised to allow the emperor a free passage through their territories, for the ostensible purpose of being crowned at Rome; but in reality, to afford a pretext for drawing German troops into Italy.

In order to obtain assistance from the states of Germany, Maximilian called a diet of the empire, and instead of Nuremberg, the place where the first diet of a new reign was usually held, summoned the meeting at Worms, from its nearer vicinity both to the Netherlands, and to Italy, the scene of action. This diet, which was among the most memorable in the annals of Germany, was opened on the 26th of May, 1496. Maximilian himself presided, and the assembly was attended by a more numerous concourse of princes and nobles than had ever yet made their appear-

imperial title and ensigns. In proof of this assertion, the supposed act of cession was published in the Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions; but this celebrated document appears to be false (as is justly observed by Mr. Roscoe) from the date (September 11. 1494), which is two months before Charles entered Rome. This cession is not confirmed by Guicciardini, Muratori, or any writer of authenticity, nor does it appear that Charles actually adopted the imperial title, although his assumption of the ensigns of imperial dignity aroused the jealousy and alarmed the apprehensions of Maximilian.

ance on a similar occasion. With great fervour and force of argument he represented the situation of Europe, and earnestly exhorted the states to wipe away the reproach long cast on Germany, and assert the dignity of the empire, by taking an efficient part in external affairs. He laid before them two propositions: the first, which was rather nominal than real, to obtain assistance against the Turks, who had recently burst into Croatia; the second, which was his principal object, and for which he laboured with peculiar energy, was a demand of succours to rescue Italy from the power of the French.

In his speech at the opening of the diet, he endeavoured, by every consideration of honour and interest, to rouse the resentment of the empire against Charles VIII., and laboured to convince the states that the acquisition of Brittany, and the conquest of Naples, would give such a preponderance to France as would enable her to annihilate the glory, the liberties, the dignity, and the privileges of the Roman church and empire. During the sittings he used all his efforts, and employed every art to excite the apprehensions, and to rouse the feelings of the German princes. At one time ambassadors from the dethroned king of Naples appeared as suppliants before the diet; at another, Ludovico Sforza was publicly invested with the duchy of Milan, and, as a member of the empire, claimed the support of his co-estates; lastly, the legate from Rome described the holy father as driven in disgrace from his capital, expatiated on the excesses, depredations, and horrors committed by the French troops, and demanded a speedy succour, to protect the head of the church from insult, and the capital of Italy from violation.

These demands were supported by all the address, eloquence, and influence of Maximilian; and if there was ever a time in which the interposition of the empire could have been made with effect, and the fiefs of Italy recovered, it was at this moment. But all his eloquence and argument, and all his attempts to rouse the states, were ineffectual; they were become callous to the repeated complaints of Turkish inroads, and were not more affected by theoretical notions of the balance of power, or alarmed by the prospect of future dangers arising from the preponderance of France

in Italy. Their chief object was the establishment of internal tranquillity, and the suppression of anarchy, not by temporary expedients, but by a regular, permanent, and efficient system. They therefore availed themselves of the fervour with which Maximilian pressed his propositions, to effect the fulfilment of their views, and to extort from him that consent which had been in vain solicited from preceding emperors. They acknowledged the necessity of checking the incursions of the Turks, and the policy of resisting the progress of the French; but declared their resolution not to grant any supply of men or money till the internal peace of Germany was secured. As all attempts had hitherto failed, because the promulgation of a public peace was not accompanied by the establishment of a supreme tribunal, supported by a power capable of enforcing its awards, they proposed the formation of an imperial chamber, and the perpetual prohibition of private warfare; and Maximilian wisely yielded to these instances, after publicly reserving the rights of his imperial jurisdiction.

So anxious were the states for the accomplishment of their great object, and so desirous was Maximilian to procure the expected succours, that the arrangements were completed with a promptitude unusual in German transactions; in the beginning of August, he personally announced his consent, and on the 7th the ordinances for the establishment of a public peace, and the institution of an imperial chamber, received his signature, and the approbation of the diet. A permanent public peace was proclaimed, the right of diffidation abolished, and a penalty of 2000 marks, with the ban of the empire, denounced against all challengers or their abettors. In order to terminate all disputes and questions of litigation, a supreme tribunal was instituted, under the ancient name of the imperial chamber, the seat of which was at first fixed at Frankfort.* It was composed of a great judge or president, who was a prince or noble of the empire, and sixteen assessors, half of whom

* It was afterwards successively transferred to Worms, Nuremberg, Augsburgh, Ratisbon, and Eslingen; in 1527, to Spire, where it remained until the thirty years' war; and was, in 1698, rendered permanent at Wetzlaer.

were of the equestrian order, and half doctors or licentiates in law, chosen by the emperor from candidates presented by the states. As the means of securing their independence and impartiality, the members, for the first time in an institution of the kind, were declared incapable of being removed from their offices. They were to decide by a majority of suffrages, and in case of equality, the president possessed a casting vote. In consequence of the imperial prerogatives, and the privileges of the states, the jurisdiction of the tribunal was at first extremely limited, and confined to appeals; for the emperor preserved the right of deciding in causes which concerned an elector or state of the empire, and the princes maintained their austregues or arbitrations among themselves, and established tribunals at their respective courts for the decision of other affairs. Like most public institutions, it was at first feeble and inefficient; and its establishment was greatly impeded by the difficulty of procuring members, of enforcing the execution of its decrees, and particularly by the want of appropriate funds for its maintenance. But these obstacles were gradually removed, and in process of time the establishment acquired a due consistency, and was attended with the most beneficial effects.

In consequence of these great concessions, Maximilian sanguinely imagined that the states would give a testimony of gratitude for his ready acquiescence in their demands by liberal supplies, and enable him, like his early predecessors, to assume the ascendency of the empire in Italy. But he was grievously disappointed; for, after much hesitation and repeated delays, the diet pompously voted the establishment of a standing army, "sufficient to check the progress of the French," for the maintenance of which they only granted 150,000 florins; one-third to be levied in the hereditary countries of the house of Austria, and the remainder under the title of a loan; and the whole was to be raised in the space of four years, by the impost called the common penny, or a trifling tax on the value of all lands and personal property. Maximilian was required to promise, on his royal word and honour, that he would not exact this imposition beyond the stipulated period, and to consent that the perception and distribution of the money

should be intrusted to seven treasurers resident at Frankfort, of whom only one was appointed by himself, and who were to submit an annual account to the diet. At the same time, the additional sum of 150,000 florins was voted for the maintenance of the public peace, and the establishment of an imperial chamber, which was to be levied in the same manner, and during the same period.*

This contribution, ineffectual as it was for its object, and clogged with such numerous conditions, was suspended or withheld by many of the states and nobles, particularly by those of Suabia and Franconia, and after many delays and new ordinances, passed by the succeeding diets, scarcely one half was brought into the imperial coffers, at so late a period, that Charles might have subjugated all Italy before the money was collected for raising and maintaining troops to oppose him.

From these delays and obstacles Maximilian was unable to take an efficient part in the affairs of Italy; and instead of appearing himself at the head of 9000 men, which he had engaged to supply, he could only despatch 3000 to join the allies. Fortunately for Europe an army of the empire was not necessary to expel the French from Italy; for Charles was no sooner acquainted with the formation of the league and the defection of Ludovico Sforza, than he retired with the same rapidity as he had before traversed Italy. Leaving the count of Montpensier as viceroy, with 6000 men, to garrison the principal places, he quitted Naples on the 20th of May, at the head of 8000, passed again through Rome, which was abandoned by the pope and the college of cardinals, and continued his route through Siena and Florence to Pisa. Here he waited in vain for a fortnight, expecting to be joined by the duke of Orleans, who was blockaded by Ludovico Sforza in Novarra. Crossing the Apennines without opposition, he continued his march

* This tax was at the rate of one florin per thousand on the value of all lands and moveables. Those whose property amounted to above 1000 florins, were allowed to contribute what addition they chose; and those who possessed less than 500, or were under fifteen years of age, were assessed at the twenty-fourth part of a florin. Princes, prelates, lords, and communities, were to pay something more than others, according to their state and condition; and Jews of both sexes, and every age, were subjected to a capitation of one florin.

towards Parma; but was opposed by the army of the confederates, who were encamped at Fornova, on the Taro. Though at the head of inferior numbers, Charles attacked the confederates on the 6th of July, and, after a severe conflict, succeeded in forcing a passage, relieved Novarra, and passed on to Asti. Having thus secured his retreat, he concluded an accommodation with Ludovico Sforza, by restoring Novarra, and promising not to support the pretensions of the duke of Orleans on Milan.

Another revolution in Naples was the consequence of his sudden retreat. The natives, who had received the French with rapture, soon became disgusted with their oppressions, and were anxious to restore their dethroned sovereign. Ferdinand, issuing from his retreat at Ischia, collected a numerous body of adherents, entered his capital amidst the acclamations of the very people who had contributed to dethrone him, and being assisted by a Spanish force, under the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, drove the French from their strongholds, and again became tranquil master of his kingdom.*

Charles had scarcely returned to France before he made preparations for another expedition into Italy; directing his principal attention to conquer the Milanese, he concluded an alliance with the Florentines, and sent troops to their assistance for the reduction of Pisa, which had thrown off their domination. On the first alarm of the threatened invasion, Ludovico Sforza hastened to Maximilian, who was then in the Tyrol, and, by the offer of a monthly subsidy, which he engaged to pay in conjunction with the Venetians, prevailed on him to undertake another expedition into Italy. Maximilian accordingly summoned a diet at Lindau, left his son Philip to preside, commanded the states and princes of the empire to repair with their contingents to Feldkirch, and, with a view to secure their prompt obedience, announced an intention of repairing to Rome, for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown. This order producing little effect, Maximilian held another interview at Bormio with Ludovico, the papal legate, and the Venetian ambas-

* Giannone, b. xxix. c. 2. Ferdinand did not long enjoy his dignity, for he died in October, 1496, without male issue, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederic.

sador, and by their urgent exhortations was induced to cross the Alps, and penetrate into Italy with only 500 horse and eight companies of infantry. Notwithstanding his recent disappointment, his sanguine temper anticipated the arrival of powerful succours from Germany, and he hoped, by the assistance of his Italian allies, and the employment of their liberal subsidy, not only to repress the aggressions of the French, but to give law to Italy. On reaching, however, the other side of the Alps, he was surprised with the information that Charles had postponed his intended expedition; he was not joined by any of the German troops; and his allies, having no farther occasion for his presence, hinted their wishes for his return into Germany. Maximilian, unwilling to return without gracing his arms with some enterprise of moment, endeavoured to persuade his allies to recover possession of Asti. But his hopes were thwarted by the jealousy which had taken place between the duke of Milan and the Venetians; and after in vain suggesting various plans of operation, he was permitted to undertake the siege of Leghorn, for the purpose of detaching the Florentines from France.

Embarking on board a fleet prepared at Genoa, he blockaded the port by sea; but, perceiving that he could not prevent the introduction of provisions and succours, and his fleet being dispersed by a storm, he disembarked his troops, and prepared to invest it by land. His allies, however, did not supply their contingents and subsidies with promptitude and effect; and the Venetian generals in particular, thwarted and protracted the operations of the siege. At length Maximilian, wearied with disappointments, and penetrating the real views of his allies, vented his anger in invectives against their ambassadors, and in December, 1496, retired from Italy with disgust and indignation. Thus terminated this precipitate and romantic expedition, the result of which greatly diminished the respect he had hitherto received as head of the empire, and as a prince of great spirit and talents.

Soon after his return from Italy he was involved in disputes with France. By the peace of Senlis, Charles VIII. had agreed to restore Hesdin, Aire, and Bethune, when Philip had reached the age of twenty; but he was allowed

to retain the duchy of Burgundy until the claims for the disputed territories of Charles the Bold were settled by accommodation or by law. Philip, however, had no sooner attained his nineteenth year, than he not only required the immediate restitution of the three towns, but also of all the territories which France had dismembered from the Burgundian succession, Charles, under various pretences, evaded these demands, and the dispute was still pending at his death, which happened in April, 1498. As he left only a daughter, the succession to the throne devolved on the duke of Orleans, who assumed the title of Louis XII., and, divorcing his wife, espoused Anne of Brittany, the widow of his predecessor. Philip, having made application to the new monarch with still less effect than before, Maximilian persuaded the diet to send a deputation in support of his pretensions, and despatched William de Vergi into Burgundy with an army of Austrian troops and Swiss mercenaries. His arms at first met with little opposition, till the Swiss, either mutinying for want of pay, or bribed by the enemy, disbanded, and the Austrians were driven back into Franche Comté. At this moment Louis, whose views were directed to the acquisition of Milan, made overtures for peace, which being no less readily accepted by Philip, was signed on the 2nd of July, 1499. The towns of Aire, Bethune, and Hesdin were restored, and the claims to the duchy of Burgundy were virtually renounced, by referring the decision to the parliament of Paris. In consequence of this accommodation, Philip, as count of Flanders, invested Louis with Boulogne, and received in his turn the investiture of Artois, Charolois, and Flanders. Maximilian, though highly dissatisfied with this agreement, was compelled to acquiesce, because the empire withheld its support; and he soon found sufficient occupation in his contests with the people of Guelderland and Friesland, and the Swiss confederates, who were secretly instigated by France.

We have already mentioned the war for the possession of Guelderland, and the re-conquest of that country by Albert of Saxony. After that event, the claims of Charles of Egmont being submitted to the arbitration of the four electors of the Rhine, and declared null, the duchy was

pronounced a fief of the empire, and restored in 1495, by Maximilian, to his son Philip. Charles affected to acquiesce in this decision; but the execution of the edict for the perception of the tax established at the last diet of Worms, having occasioned discontents, he again took up arms, and by the assistance of the natives, and the support of France, recovered the greater part of the duchy. The people of Friesland, encouraged by the success of their neighbours, resisted likewise the execution of the new edict, and, under the pretence that their country was not a fief of the empire, refused to submit to Albert of Saxony, who was appointed their governor, and threw themselves under the protection of the duke of Guelderland. Albert in vain attempted to quell this double insurrection; after taking Ruremond and Venloo, he was compelled to raise the siege of Nimeguen, and in December, 1498, concluded an armistice for six months. Before the expiration of this truce, Maximilian, being relieved from the contest with France, collected troops, and hastened himself into Guelderland to prosecute the war. But his arms were not attended with the expected success; for the duke, being supported by France, resisted all his efforts, and Maximilian abandoned a fruitless contest, with the hopes of retrieving the ill success of his arms in Switzerland. Soon after his departure, the dukes of Cleves and Juliers, to whom he intrusted the conduct of the war, negotiated a peace under the mediation of Louis XII. by which Charles was allowed to retain the greater part of Guelderland.

In consequence of the constant disputes in which Maximilian was involved with France, and the projects of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. for the acquisition of Naples and Milan, he justly appreciated the advantages to be derived from the friendship and alliance of the Helvetic States, who, by their warlike spirit and local position, were enabled to become the arbiters of Italy. He therefore attempted to conciliate their friendship, and detach them from their allegiance with France. He seems to have in some degree succeeded with the municipal cantons; but, among the democratic states, the superior influence and lavish bribes of France, together with an inveterate jealousy of the house of Austria, baffled all his

efforts. Equally disappointed and incensed, Maximilian hoped to divide the cantons, and endeavoured to extort from them, as chief of the empire, that assistance which they had withheld from him as head of the house of Austria. With this view he called upon them, as members of the empire, to assist him with a contingent of troops, first in the Burgundian war, and afterwards in his expedition into Italy; he likewise commanded them to acknowledge the authority of the imperial chamber, and finally to contribute to the taxes imposed for its support. He also required their accession to the Suabian league, with the hope that their refusal would embroil them with that confederacy, which was already jealous of their increasing influence, and dissatisfied with their attempts to associate Constance in this union.

The Swiss, refusing to comply with these requisitions, and to acknowledge themselves members of the empire, the pope, at the instigation of Maximilian, excommunicated them as adherents of France; while the imperial chamber exerted against them all the rigour of its authority; contributions were raised by coercion; the abbot and town of St. Gallen were cited before the diet; the count of Sargans, a coburgher of Schweitz and Glarus, and the count of Werdenbergh, one of the members of the Grey League, were put under the ban of the empire. These rigorous proceedings united the whole body of the Helvetic states in a common cause, and induced seven of the ancient cantons* to form an alliance with two of the Rhætian leagues, who were equally alienated by their disputes with the government of the Tyrol.

In the midst of these bickerings, Louis XII. had assumed the title of duke of Milan, and prepared for the conquest of that duchy. Maximilian accordingly enjoined the Swiss not to favour the projects of France against a feudatory of the empire, and demanded a contingent of 6000 men to assert the claims of his son on the inheritance of Burgundy. The Swiss, however, refused compliance till they were relieved from the oppressions of the imperial chamber; but professed their resolution to maintain, in

* Bern, which had laboured to prevent a rupture with the house of Austria, was excepted.

the mean time, a strict neutrality. In this state of mutual irritation, a petty outrage kindled the latent flames of war. At the time when the regency of Innspruck and the Grisons were preparing to open a congress for the accommodation of their differences, a predatory corps of Tyrolese burst into the valley of Munster, and were repulsed. The sword being thus drawn, the Tyrolese appealed to the Suabian league, then assembled at Constance; while the Grisons demanded succours from their Swiss allies. Both parties armed, and a war ensued, which, besides numerous skirmishes, produced eight battles in the short space of six months. The confederates, however, gaining the advantage in every action, Maximilian agreed to a peace with the duke of Guelderland, and repaired with 6000 men to Friburgh in the Brisgau. He here published a violent manifesto, criminating the rebellious conduct of the Swiss, and calling on the German states to assist in reducing these stubborn peasants to obedience. Advancing to Constance, where his principal force was collected, he proposed to attack the enemy; but the German leaders declined engaging, under various pretences, and when Maximilian himself drew them up in order of battle before the gates of the town, and offered to lead them in person against the enemy, who were encamped in the vicinity, they declared that they were not assembled to contaminate their honour by combating the peasants of the Alps, but to defend the frontiers of Germany. Thus disappointed, Maximilian quitted Constance in disgust, and repairing to Lindau, despatched the count of Furstenberg, with 16,000 of his own troops, against Soleure. The Austrian general advanced, and invested the post of Dornach, which was defended by a small body of the confederates. But while his troops were thus occupied, 6000 Swiss suddenly attacked them with their usual intrepidity, and, after a desperate conflict, the Austrians were defeated with the loss of 4000 men; and their leader, with many distinguished nobles, fell in the field.

Maximilian, discouraged from the prosecution of this disastrous war, listened to overtures, and in September, 1499, concluded a peace. His rights to the Prettigau were acknowledged by the confederates, the disputes between

the bishop of Coire and the government of the Tyrol were submitted to the arbitration of the bishop of Augsburgh, and all future differences were to be decided by impartial umpires. The Helvetic states, on their part, obtained an immunity from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, and an exemption from all taxes and contributions imposed by the emperor.

Thus finally closed the long and ruinous contest between the house of Austria and the Swiss confederates; and thus was established the real independence of the Helvetic states, although their union was not formally acknowledged by the German empire till a century and a half after this pacification. The effectual support which the Swiss had afforded to the Grisons in this war, induced other states to court their alliance; and, within the space of a few years, the confederacy was strengthened and completed by the accession of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel. From this period the thirteen cantons, secure in their Alpine barriers, maintained inviolate their freedom and independence, assumed a prominent share in the affairs of Europe, and remained for more than three centuries unmolested by any foreign attack.

CHAP. XXII. — 1499–1505.

MAXIMILIAN had been induced to conclude a peace with the Swiss, in order to support the duke of Milan against the aggressions of France; but Louis, in the quality of mediator, contrived to retard the negotiations, and before the signature of the treaty, had carried his intended invasion of Milan into execution.

The death of Charles VIII. occasioned an instantaneous change in the situation of Italy, and the sentiments of the native princes and states. Louis, instead of openly prosecuting the designs of his predecessor on the kingdom of Naples, asserted his own pretensions to the duchy of Milan. He gained pope Alexander VI., by promising to assist him in the conquest of Romagna, and particularly by

creating his son, Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois, with a pension of 20,000 livres, by conferring on him a considerable command in his army, and engaging to procure for him in marriage a princess of the royal house of Navarre. He formed an offensive league with the Venetians, by luring them with the offer of Cremona and the Ghiaradadda; he also obtained a free passage over the Alps, by profuse largesses to the court of Turin, and by renouncing the pretensions of the crown of France to the duchy of Savoy; and he induced the Florentines, by promises or threats, to maintain a neutrality.

Sensible that Maximilian was too much employed in the contest with the Swiss to turn his attention to the affairs of Italy, and that the king of Naples was too weak and too distant to afford timely assistance to the duke of Milan, Louis hastened his intended expedition. His army, amounting to 22,000 men, including 5000 Swiss mercenaries, passed the Alps at the latter end of July, 1499, under the command of Trivulzio, the celebrated Milanese general, who maintained extensive connections in the country, and was animated with a personal hatred against Ludovico, for driving him into exile. The duke of Milan made preparations to resist this invasion; he instigated the sultan Bajazet to declare war against the Venetians, summoned assistance from Frederic, king of Naples, and appealed to Maximilian. Not trusting, however, to foreign allies, he had collected an efficient army for the defence of his dominions, and dividing his forces into two bodies, to make head at once against the French and the Venetians, he hoped to protract the war till he could receive support from the emperor and the king of Naples. But he was betrayed by the treachery, cowardice, or venality of those in whom he confided; his troops retired before the enemy; town after town, and fortress after fortress surrendered. He hoped at least to maintain his capital; and in vain endeavoured to animate his subjects by exhortations, promises, and largesses. At length, abandoned by all, he retired with his family and treasure, and after hair-breadth escapes from the pursuit of the enemy, and the perils of journey, took refuge in the Tyrol. Within twenty days after the commencement of the invasion, the capital sur-

rendered, and on the 6th of October, Louis made his triumphant entry, and was inaugurated duke of Milan. Having established his authority, he committed the government to Trivulzio, and returned to Paris with Isabella, the widow, and Francis, the son of the late sovereign, John Galeas.*

On retiring from Milan, Ludovico Sforza conveyed almost the first intelligence of his misfortunes to Innspruck, where he and his brother Ascanio were received by Maximilian with every demonstration of affection and respect. He obtained liberal promises of immediate assistance, and in return gratified the avidity of his protector, by donations from the treasures which he had saved amid the wreck of his fortunes. But being disappointed by Maximilian, either from inability, or from his characteristic profusion†, and hearing at the same time that his subjects were disgusted with the French, and panted for his return, he took into pay the celebrated Burgundian guard, amounting to 1500 horse, and purchased the assistance of 8000 Swiss mercenaries. At the head of these troops he descended from the Tyrol, and entering the Milanese, found the people ready to hail him as their deliverer. The different towns vied in opening their gates at his appearance, or in submitting to his authority; his army increased in numbers as he advanced, and the news of an insurrection encouraged him to push on to the capital. His success was equally rapid and unexpected; the inhabitants had risen in arms, and Trivulzio, alarmed at the spirit of general insurrection, quitted Milan with the remnant of his troops, and endeavoured to preserve Mortara and Novarra, the only two places which remained in the pos-

* John Galeas was compelled to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, and died, in 1511, abbot of Marmoutier. Isabella, his mother, was permitted to retire from France, and returned to Naples, only to witness the revolution, which finally drove her family from that throne.

† On this occasion, Muratori has, by a single stroke of the pencil, well delineated the profuse and needy Maximilian: "Questi," viz. Ludovico and his brother, "pertanto, giacchè andarono loro ben presto fallite le speranze poste in Massimigliano Re de' Romani, *Principe negligentissimo ne' proprj affari, privo sempre, e sempre sitibondo di danaro,* si volsero agli Svizzeri."

session of the French. Ludovico, pursuing his success with equal celerity and decision, left his brother, the cardinal Ascanio, at Milan, to collect reinforcements, invested Novarra, and in a few days compelled the town to surrender. He would have probably regained his territories with the same rapidity as they were lost, had not the celebrated Bayard, who commanded in the citadel of Novarra, refused to subscribe to the capitulation, and his garrison, animated by his chivalrous spirit, and directed by his skill, maintained to the last extremity this small but important remnant of the French conquests in Italy.

While the eyes of Europe were fixed on this siege, Maximilian was employed in rousing the states of the empire. He obtained the payment of the contingents, which had been voted at the diet of Worms for the maintenance of the public peace, and without a moment's delay, commenced the levy of a considerable force in every part of Germany. These preparations alarmed Louis, and compelled him to turn his whole attention to the defence of his own kingdom, on the side of Germany. But from some secret motive or unforeseen event, which history has not recorded, Maximilian suddenly suspended his armaments, and Louis was enabled to despatch a fresh army of 5000 horse and 15,000 foot, of whom 10,000 were Swiss, for the recovery of Milan.

The approach of this force did not alarm Ludovico Sforza, who continued his attacks against the citadel of Novarra, even while he himself was invested by the French army. The enemy could not venture to interrupt his operations, and he would probably have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been perfidiously betrayed. His Swiss mercenaries, gained by the intrigues and money of France, on a sudden mutinied, refused to fight against their brethren, and alleged an order from their governments, commanding them to return to their country. In vain Ludovico appealed to their duty and honour; the only boon he could obtain by his bounties, his prayers, and even his tears, was a permission to accompany them in the disguise of a common soldier through the hostile army. This, however, was but a continuation of the perfidious plan which had been formed to betray him; for he had no

sooner passed the French ranks, than he was pointed out by those in whom he trusted, made prisoner, and conveyed to France.*

The capture of Ludovico, and the immediate re-conquest of Milan, excited the indignation as well as the apprehensions of Maximilian; and he was still further alarmed by the views, which Louis did not even attempt to conceal, of resuming the projects of his predecessor for the conquest of Naples. The emperor, therefore, exerted himself with more earnestness than he before displayed to expel the French from their conquests. He formed an alliance with Frederic, king of Naples; and, for the payment of a considerable subsidy, agreed to assist him in case of an attack, and to conclude no treaty or truce without his consent. He likewise entered into a negotiation with the Swiss, who contested with France the possession of the Trans-Alpine bailliage of Bellinzone, and prevailed on six of the cantons† to renew the hereditary union with the house of Austria. He also assembled a diet of the empire at Augsburgh, and laid before the states his usual demand of assistance against the Turks; but he again still more earnestly pressed them for succours, in order to check the aggressions of France.

* Ludovico Sforza was rigorously confined in a dark chamber at Lis St. George, in Berri, and then in the castle of Loches; but after the interval of five years, by the intercession of Maximilian, he was released from his close confinement, and allowed a space of several leagues for hunting and other recreations. He died in captivity, in 1510, leaving two sons, Maximilian and Francis, who, by a singular concurrence of events, became sovereigns of Milan. Although all writers have joined in reprobating the perfidy of the Swiss, and their native historians have in vain endeavoured to exculpate them, by attributing the treachery to a single soldier of Uri, yet none have commiserated the fate of Ludovico, who, after being several years the arbiter of Italy, after holding a high rank among European sovereigns, and being related to kings and emperors, lingered out the remnant of his life in captivity. But, in fact, his perfidy excited a general abhorrence of his character; and he bore the stigma of many crimes which he did, and of still more which he did not commit. His fate affords a striking example to sovereigns, and is a proof that good faith and probity are the best securities as well as the greatest ornaments of a prince.

† Zuzich, Bern, Uri, Underwalden, Schweitz, and Glarus.

The sincerity of Maximilian in this instance cannot be doubted; as he was induced, both by interest and inclination, to obtain the release of the duke of Milan, and to check the alarming preponderance of the French in Italy. But the event has furnished historians with an opportunity to affix an additional stigma on his character for venality and instability, although success depended on a combination of circumstances which he was unable to control. The diet held its former language, that all foreign wars were impracticable till the peace of the empire, and till a stable and efficient form of government and jurisprudence, were established. They affected, indeed, to grant succours, fixed the contingents to be supplied by the members of the empire, instead of the contribution of the common penny, and sent a deputation to the king of France, to open a negotiation relative to the Milanese. In return for these concessions, Maximilian consented to the re-organisation of the imperial chamber, which had fallen into disuse from the failure of its funds, and even acquiesced in the establishment of a council of regency, which he had opposed at the diet of Worms, as an invasion of his prerogative. This council was designed to exercise the government of the empire during the absence of the chief, and the intervals of the diet, and was composed of a president and twenty counsellors*, nominated by the electors, princes, prelates, counts, and towns, of whom the emperor appointed only the president and two counsellors, one as archduke of Austria, and the other as duke of Burgundy. Its duration was limited to six years, and its residence fixed at Nuremberg; and it was empowered to delegate its authority to the six electors, joined with twelve princes, chosen from the candidates for the office of counsellor.

Maximilian, after appointing Frederic the Wise, duke of Saxony, as president, hastened to open the council at Nuremberg, which met December 16, 1500, and prevailed on the members to convoke their delegates the six electors,

* Each of the electors, except the king of Bohemia, was to nominate a counsellor; the college of princes, two; the archduke of Austria, and the duke of Burgundy, one each; the prelates, one; the counts, one; the imperial towns, eight; and six districts or circles, into whic the empire was divided, one each.

and twelve princes, hoping to manage an assembly of eighteen persons with more facility than the whole diet. He submitted to the delegation a project for the establishment of peace, by which the king of France was to receive the investiture of Milan for life, to pay 100,000 crowns into the chancery of the empire, to liberate the duke of Milan, to promise not to attack the king of Naples for three years, and to furnish a specific succour against the Turks. But he found this council no less untractable than the states of the empire; his proposal was referred to a future diet at Frankfort, and the deputation already sent to the king of France, having concluded a truce till the ensuing July, they laid it before him, and requested his immediate ratification.

Maximilian disdainfully rejected these humiliating proposals, and forbade the council of regency to enter into any further negotiation with France. But Louis, who was unwilling to engage in the invasion of Naples, while threatened with a German war, and before he had secured the investiture of Milan, had formed his plans with an art and combination which it was equally difficult to develope or defeat. While he tampered with the princes and states, he had applied no less successfully to the archduke Philip, who possessed a considerable influence over his father. He gained the friendship of the young, frank, and ambitious prince, by promising his daughter Claude in marriage to the infant son of the archduke, with the Milanese as a dowry, and by engaging not to thwart his accession to the crowns of Castile and Arragon, of which his wife was become the presumptive heir. Swayed by these offers, Philip exerted all his influence to reconcile his father to Louis, and finally overcame his repugnance to enter into negotiation. Louis being thus relieved from his apprehension of the emperor, was enabled to execute his meditated conquest of Naples. After re-establishing his authority in Milan, he had found no difficulty in obtaining the acquiescence of the pope, in consequence of the assistance which he rendered to Cæsar Borgia for the acquisition of Romagna. He was no less interested to secure the concurrence of Ferdinand the Catholic king of Arragon, who, as possessor of Sicily, was enabled to thwart his enterprise;

but who, although connected by interest and blood with the king of Naples, lent a ready ear to his proposal, with the hope of sharing the spoils. The two monarchs accordingly concluded a treaty of partition, by which Ferdinand was to receive Calabria and Apulia, and Louis the rest of the Neapolitan dominions, with the title of king of Naples and Jerusalem. This engagement was arranged at Grenada with the utmost secrecy, and was to be formally imparted to the pope, in order to obtain his approbation and investiture, when the French army had reached Rome.

The unfortunate king of Naples appealed for succours to his perfidious relative, Ferdinand of Arragon; after the most solemn engagements, he delivered to Gonsalvo de Cordova, the Spanish general, the principal fortresses of Apulia, and at the same time made preparations to repel the threatened invasion. But Louis, having obtained the tacit acquiescence of Maximilian, hastened the march of his troops: on their arrival at Rome, the fatal intelligence of the intended partition was published, and the pope issued a bull on the 25th of June, 1501, deposing Frederic, and investing Louis and Ferdinand with his territories. Frederic was astounded with the first rumour of this coalition, and could scarcely credit the intelligence, till the Spanish troops, from whom he expected support, united with the French. Indignant and despairing, he relinquished his crown almost without opposition, and threw himself under the protection of his avowed enemy the king of France, in preference to Ferdinand, by whom he had been so perfidiously betrayed.* On the abdication of Fre-

* Frederic was honourably treated by Louis, and received an asylum in France, with a considerable pension, which was faithfully discharged, even after Louis had lost the crown of Naples. His eldest son, Ferdinand, was made prisoner in Tarento by Gonsalvo, and, in violation of the most solemn promises, sent into Spain, where he was treated honourably, though detained as a prisoner till he died, in 1550. The second son, Alphonso, accompanied his father into France; and the third son, Cæsar, found an asylum at Ferrara. Charlotte, daughter of Frederic, espoused, first, the prince of Tarento; and, secondly, Guy, count of Lavalle; and their daughter, Anne, succeeding to the pretensions of her family, conveyed to her husband, Francis, duke of La Tremouille, her claims on the crown of Naples. — Guicciardini; Giannone; Muratori, tom. 10. an. 1501.

deric, his dominions, with the exception of Tarento, fell an easy prey, and were divided by the two sovereigns, in conformity with the articles of their treaty, and the confirmation of the pope.

During this expedition, Maximilian continued his negotiations by the mediation of Philip, and finally concluded a treaty at Trent, December 13, 1501, with the cardinal d'Amboise, the confidential minister of Louis. The projected marriage between Charles, son of the archduke, and the princess Claude was confirmed; and another match was arranged between his sister Mary and the first son that should be born to the king of France. Maximilian was to invest Louis with the Milanese for a stipulated sum of money; and Louis in return promised to furnish succours against the Turks, to facilitate the coronation of Maximilian, and to support the rights of the house of Austria to the reversion of Hungary and Bohemia, and those of the archduke Philip to the Spanish dominions. With a view to save the honour of the emperor, Louis also agreed to relieve the unfortunate duke of Milan from his close confinement, and to set at liberty his brother the cardinal Ascanio.

Maximilian having thus terminated his contest with France, and being relieved from his attention to the affairs of Italy, did not long remain inactive. Influenced by an obscure prophecy, that he was born to be a great conqueror, or more probably spurred on by his restless and romantic spirit, he endeavoured to form a crusade against the infidels, which he purposed to head in person. Eager to avail himself of the assistance promised by the king of France in the treaty of Trent, and impatient of the dilatory proceedings of diets and councils of regency, he did not demand the assistance of the empire in the usual forms, but solicited the states by letters, or by personal applications. He was, however, no less disappointed than on former occasions; for the electors, instead of complying with his urgent requests, affected great displeasure at the illegality of his proceeding, and assembled at Gelnhausen, on the 2d of July, 1502, where they formed the celebrated electoral union. To prevent the repetition of a similar appeal, they agreed to take no resolution on public affairs

except in concert, to hold the same opinion in the diets; and, in order to maintain their privileges, and to perpetuate this check on the encroachments of their chief, they made arrangements for an annual meeting to deliberate on the affairs of the empire.

Maximilian was highly offended by this insult to his dignity; and no less disappointed by the failure of his expectations. He sent an ambassador to Gelnhausen, and bitterly reproached the electors with their contumacy; and they retorted with no less spirit and virulence. He commanded them to dissolve their meeting; and they, in return, defying his authority, drew up a list of their grievances.

Many causes contributed to irritate the minds of all parties, and to aggravate the dispute. Among others was an attempt made by the emperor to supersede the imperial chamber and council of regency, and to establish, in their stead, a tribunal, afterwards called the Aulic council. This tribunal was originally formed for the administration of justice in the Austrian territories; but, in 1500, Maximilian had persuaded the states to acquiesce in its encroachment on the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, by allowing them to nominate eight additional assessors, for the cognisance of affairs, during the frequent delays and interruptions to which the business of the imperial chamber was subject. The states, as he had probably foreseen, soon neglected their right of nomination, and he was enabled to secure the entire control of this tribunal. Its jurisdiction was, however, exercised without opposition, while confined to affairs of little importance; but its citation of the elector of Cologne, in consequence of a dispute with his capital, roused the alarms of the whole body; they made the warmest remonstrances, and argued that the establishment of the new tribunal was contrary to the laws of the empire, a violation of their privileges, and an infringement of the rights of the imperial chamber.

Another cause of complaint was the attempt of the emperor to raise the archduchy of Austria into a new electorate. This project was opposed with still greater warmth than had been manifested against the new tribunal; the electors, in a second meeting at Frankfort, November,

1503, renewed their union, and entered into engagements to maintain their rights and privileges, and to prevent the introduction of a new member into their college.

Fortunately for Maximilian and the empire, neither the pope nor the king of France were inclined or able to take advantage of these troubles. As the quarrel, therefore, was not aggravated by any foreign interference, all parties, when the heat of the dispute had subsided, were inclined to terminate their difference by an accommodation. The death of the duke of Bavaria Landshut, in December, 1503, and the prospect of a contest for the succession to his dominions, induced the emperor to make some sacrifices for a reconciliation; he acknowledged the legality of the electoral meetings, and abandoned his project of raising Austria to the rank of an electorate; in return, the electors suffered the Aulic council to retain and exercise its assumed jurisdiction.

During these contentions, Maximilian did not entirely abandon his meditated crusade against the Turks; but endeavoured to collect an army of volunteers, and to rouse the enthusiasm of the German nobles, by announcing various prodigies, which he held forth as proofs of the immediate interference of Heaven. In a circular letter, addressed to the German states, he says, "A stone* weighing two hundred pounds, recently fell from heaven, near an army under my command in Upper Alsace, and I caused it, as a fatal warning from God to men, to be hung up in the neighbouring church of Encisheim. In vain I myself

* This stone is thus described by Fugger: "This year (1492) is remarkable, because on the 7th of November, mid-day, at Encisheim in Upper Alsace, a prodigious stone fell from the clouds into a field, accompanied with a loud explosion of thunder, which was heard in Suabia, Helvetia, Rhætia, and as far as the Rhine. It was an ell high, in its colour resembling iron, weighed 215 pounds, and emitted sparks like a flint, when struck with a steel."

This and similar accounts have long passed for fables, till recent events and modern investigation have proved their authenticity. This stone has been analysed by Berthold, the French chymist, and is mentioned among numerous other similar substances described in the Philosophical Transactions for 1802, Part I. See Howard's Experiments and Observations on certain Stones and Metalline Substances, which at different times are said to have fallen on the earth; also, on various kinds of Native Iron.

explained to all Christian kings, and to the German states, the signification of this mysterious stone: the Almighty punished the neglect of this warning with a dreadful scourge*, from which thousands have suffered death, or pains worse than death. But since this punishment of the abominable sins of men has produced no effect, God has imprinted, in a miraculous manner, the sign of the cross, and the instruments of our Lord's passion, in dark and bloody colours on the bodies and garments of thousands. The appearance of these signs in Germany, in particular, does not indeed denote that the Germans have been peculiarly distinguished in guilt, but rather that they should set the example to the rest of the world, by being the first to undertake a crusade against the infidels." From these and many other miraculous occurrences, Maximilian exhorted all who were skilled in military affairs, to join his standard; and, as a further encouragement, he announced the expected assistance of the kings of England and France, and the co-operation of the holy pontiff.

This appeal was not without effect; the duke of Cleves, the prince of Anhalt, and numerous nobles, assumed the cross under the auspices of Maximilian, and formed a company, distinguished by the name of St. George, the patron saint of Christendom; and Henry VII. presented a subsidy of 10,000 pounds. The time of service, the contributions, and the pay of the common soldiers were fixed, and vast preparations made to commence the enterprise. But the sanguine emperor was destined to be again disappointed; the pope lavished the money which he had collected throughout Christendom, under the pretence of attacking the infidels, in his sole and favourite object, the aggrandisement of Cæsar Borgia; and Louis XII. either neglected to perform a promise which he never intended to fulfil, or found sufficient employment for his forces in maintaining his conquest of Naples. Maximilian himself was also diverted from a distant and romantic enterprise by the Bavarian war, and the affairs of Italy.

Hitherto the military projects of Maximilian had evapo-

* He here alludes to the dreadful disorder supposed to be brought from America, which is said to have made its first appearance in Europe at the siege of Naples.

rated in speculation, or had been attended with ill-success, principally because he was not supported by the empire, and because his want of money prevented him from maintaining hostilities in a distant country. But the Bavarian war, in which he obtained the co-operation of the empire, crowned his arms with honour, and was followed by an important accession of territory.

George, duke of Bavaria Landshut*, surnamed the Rich, dying in December, 1503, without issue male, his dominions were claimed by his daughter, Elizabeth, who had espoused Robert, son of the elector palatine, and by his cousins Albert and Wolfgang, of the collateral branch of Munich. In consequence of family compacts, and the feudal law of succession, Albert and Wolfgang, as the next surviving males, possessed an undoubted right to all the possessions of the duke, except the allodials; but, in violation of this right, George had endeavoured to obtain the consent of Maximilian to the transfer of his dominions to his daughter, and though he failed of success, left them by will to her and her husband.

On the death of George, the states of Bavaria appealed to the emperor, as their liege lord, demanded the establishment of a council of regency, for the provisional government, and exhorted him to settle the right of the respective claimants by his adjudication. In consequence of this appeal, Maximilian summoned the parties before the diet of Augsburg, and, after attempting in vain to effect an accommodation, adjudged to Albert and Wolfgang all the feudal possessions of the late duke, and all the lands which he held as fiefs from the emperor or empire.

During this process, Robert and Elizabeth had taken possession of Landshut and Berghausen, with the treasures of the late duke, and, refusing to submit to the sentence of the emperor, prepared to maintain their pretensions by arms, and were supported by the elector palatine. This contumacy drew on them the displeasure of Maximilian, who engaged in the contest with great eagerness, as well

* The house of Bavaria was separated into two lines, the Palatine, of which Philip, nephew and successor of Frederic the Warlike, was the head; and the line of Bavaria, which was subdivided into the two branches of Landshut and Munich.

to favour his brother-in-law, Albert, as from a desire to recover the landgraviate of Alsace, which had been mortgaged to the palatine house, and to re-annex to the Tyrol Kuffstein, Kitzbühl, and other places in the vicinity, which had been formerly ceded to the house of Bavaria. He published the ban of the empire against Robert and the elector palatine, and obtained the support of the Suabian league, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse, the margrave of Brandenburgh, and other princes and states, who were either desirous to maintain the authority of their chief, or influenced by the jealousy which they fostered against the palatine house, in consequence of the conquests and acquisitions of Frederic the Victorious.

With the treasures of his father-in-law, Robert having subsidised a considerable army of Bohemians, by the assistance of the palatine troops, obtained possession of Kuffstein, which was betrayed to him by the governor, and conquered the greater part of the contested territories. In consequence of this contempt of the imperial authority, Maximilian assembled his own troops and those of his allies, and, being at the head of 14,000 infantry and 1200 horse, marched against Robert, who was encamped near Ratisbon. After an obstinate resistance, he defeated the palatine troops, and advanced against a corps of 4000 Bohemians, who had taken post on a neighbouring height. Leading himself the right wing to the assault, he burst through a barricade, which the enemy had formed by fixing their shields in the ground, and drove them to an inner fortification, which, according to their custom, they had constructed with their waggons and carriages. Here the attack became more bloody and desperate, and the person of the emperor was exposed to the most imminent danger. The imperial troops giving way, were broken by the impetuous assaults of the enemy, who sallied from their intrenchments; and a party surrounding Maximilian, drew him out of his saddle with their grappling hooks. At this instant the duke of Brunswick rushing forward, received the blows aimed at the emperor, and rescued him from impending destruction. Undaunted by so perilous an escape, Maximilian again rallied and animated his troops,

and led them on to victory. The enemy, though surrounded and weakened by repeated charges, made an astonishing resistance; and after the loss of half their number, a party escaped through the woods, and the remainder surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

At the conclusion of the battle, Maximilian proved his magnanimity by liberating his prisoners, with praises for their valour, and displayed his gratitude by conferring on his deliverer, Eric of Brunswick, the honour of knighthood, and granting him for life the revenues of the county of Goritz, which had recently escheated to him by the extinction of the family.*

Soon after this engagement, Robert and Elizabeth died, leaving three infant children; but the war was continued by the elector palatine, who supported the cause of his grandsons. The palatinate was accordingly devastated by the forces of the allies, while Maximilian took Kuffstein and Geroldsec, directed his march towards Alsace, and, being received by the natives, made himself master of the country without opposition. In the midst of these distresses and disasters, the elector palatine shut himself up in the strong fortress of Heidelberg; but, disappointed in his hopes of assistance from France, he at length submitted to the mercy of the emperor. A diet being summoned at Cologne, Maximilian, with the concurrence of the states, pronounced an award: that part of the contested territories which lay between the Danube and the Naab†, with the town of Neuburgh, and the allodials, were adjudged to the sons of Robert and Elizabeth, and the remainder to the collateral branch of Munich. Maximilian himself, as a remuneration for the expenses of the war, retained Kuff-

* The line of Goritz, founded by Albert, son of Meinhard, became extinct in April, 1500, by the death of Leonard, the last of the male line; and, in virtue of family compacts between the counts and the house of Austria, Goritz and Gradiska fell to Maximilian. Cronberg de Comitibus Goritiæ passim, et p. 395. The counties of Goritz and Gradiska were more important from their local situation than for their extent, because they lie on the frontiers of Carinthia and Carniola, and connect those countries with the district of Trieste.

† This district was afterwards called the Upper Palatinate, and comprised the duchies of Neuburgh and Sultzbach.

stein, Geroldsec, Kitzbühl, Rattenburgh, Nyburgh on the Inn, the county of Kirchburg in Suabia, and the lordship of Weissenhorn, together with the landgraviate of Alsace. His allies were gratified with various towns and districts, dismembered from the palatinate, and thus the palatine house, so powerful under Frederic the Victorious, was reduced from the first to a secondary rank among the German princes.

CHAP. XXIII. — 1503-1508.

BEFORE the conclusion of the Bavarian war, the affairs of Italy again required the attention of Maximilian. The French and Spaniards had scarcely completed the conquest of Naples, before disputes arose relative to the division of the spoils. These disputes leading to hostilities, the French succeeded in possessing themselves of the fertile district of Capitanata, the contested territory, drove the Spaniards from the principal places in Calabria and Apulia, and even blockaded Gonsalvo in Barletta, where he was reduced to the greatest distress for want of money, provisions, and ammunition. In this situation of affairs, Maximilian contributed to revive the declining fortune of the Spaniards, by sending to their assistance a corps of 3000 troops, who embarked at Trieste, and, by the connivance of the Venetians, were permitted to pass through the Adriatic.

He was induced to assist the Spaniards, as well because he was dissatisfied with Louis for delaying to fulfil the treaty of Trent, as because he hoped to secure Naples to his grandchildren. But the sentiments of Philip were widely different from those of his father. In passing from the Low Countries to Spain, he had been received with great honours by Louis, and at Blois renewed the treaty of Trent. He was won by the honourable reception which he experienced in his journey; and as during his residence in Spain, several causes of disgust arose between him and Ferdinand, he was anxious to obtain the execution of the

treaty with France, which was so advantageous to his family. He therefore extorted from Ferdinand an authority to enter into negotiation, and in his return through France visited the French king at Lyons, where he concluded a peace in the name of his father-in-law.* The kingdom of Naples was to be divided according to the first partition; the part belonging to the king of Spain to be governed provisionally by Philip, and that of the king of France by his lieutenant. The whole was to be ceded to the young archduke Charles and his intended spouse, the princess Claude; on the solemnisation of their nuptials, they were to assume the title of king and queen of Naples, and the contested territory was to be intrusted to the care of Philip. In consequence of this agreement, Louis and Philip respectively sent orders to the French and Spanish generals, to abstain from hostilities; and the march of the French reinforcements destined for Naples was suspended. But the wily Ferdinand had previously enjoined Gonsalvo de Cordova to pay no regard to the orders of the archduke, and to pursue his advantages, if successful; accordingly his general having, with the assistance of the German troops and other reinforcements, recovered from his desperate situation, refused to suspend hostilities, and pressed the French with equal skill and vigour. He discomfited them at the river of Gioia, totally defeated them at the battle of Garigliano, expelled them from Naples, and laid siege to Gaeta, the last town of importance which remained of their conquests in Naples.

Philip, shocked at being thus made the instrument of deception, and indignant at this breach of faith, expressed unfeigned regret to Louis, and turned all his efforts to conciliate his father, whose enmity had proved of such disadvantage to the French. His solicitations prevailing, an accommodation was, in 1504, arranged at Blois between Maximilian, Louis, and Philip. By the first treaty between Maximilian and Louis, the emperor agreed to grant the investiture of the Milanese, as a male fief, for the sum of 200,000 livres, and in failure of issue male to Louis, the

* The French and Spanish historians differ greatly in regard to this negotiation. The French assert, and the Spaniards deny, that Philip was authorised by full powers.

duchy was to revert to the princess Claude and her intended husband, the archduke Charles. By the second treaty, in failure of issue male to Louis, the duchy of Burgundy, with its dependencies, Milan and Genoa, and the counties of Asti and Blois, were to descend to the archduke Charles and the princess Claude, and to their issue. It was even stipulated, that should Louis prevent the intended marriage, Charles was to be indemnified with Burgundy, Milan, and Asti; or if the obstacles arose on the side of the house of Austria, the emperor was bound to renounce his claims to the Milanese, and the archduke to relinquish his pretensions to the duchy of Burgundy, and its dependencies.

This treaty was scarcely concluded before a change took place in the situation of the house of Austria, which occasioned its almost immediate rupture. When the double marriage was arranged, of the archduke Philip with the infanta Joanna, and the infant John with the archduchess Margaret, there was little probability that Joanna would become the heiress of the Spanish dominions, as besides her brother, she had an elder sister, Isabella, who was betrothed to Alphonso, son of John, king of Portugal. But by a singular series of events, a way was opened for her accession to the throne. John died soon after the consummation of his marriage, without leaving issue; Alphonso, the husband of Isabella, experienced a similar fate; his widow bore to her second husband Emanuel of Portugal, a son Michael, who was declared heir of Castile, Arragon, and Portugal; but the mother died in childbed, and the young prince expired on the 20th of July, 1500, before he had completed his second year. Joanna thus became presumptive heiress of Arragon and Castile, and Philip, in her right, had the prospect of uniting the Spanish dominions, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the Austrian and Burgundian territories.

Soon after the death of the infant John, Philip and Joanna were invited into Spain, and their title to the two crowns of Castile and Arragon was acknowledged by the cortes or states of both kingdoms. But Philip disgusted Ferdinand and Isabella by the levity of his con-

duct, and still more by his neglect of their daughter, who was homely in person, and deranged in intellect; and he particularly excited the jealousy of Ferdinand, by his eagerness to obtain the government of Castile, which was likely soon to become vacant by the declining health of Isabella. Philip, on his part, was no less dissatisfied with the formal manners and punctilious etiquette of the Spanish court, and panted for the more lively and unrestrained society of the Low Countries. He, therefore, in 1503, abruptly quitted Spain, leaving his doting wife, who was near the time of her delivery, in a state of deep and sullen melancholy, bordering on distraction; and his journey through France, together with his subsequent negotiations, contributed still further to aggravate the dissatisfaction which his conduct had already given to Ferdinand and Isabella.

Towards the close of the ensuing year, Isabella died. Being convinced of her daughter's imbecility, as well as displeased with the conduct of Philip, she intrusted the regency of Castile to her husband, till her grandson, Charles, had attained his majority; she also bequeathed to Ferdinand half of the revenues derived from the new discovered countries in America, together with the grand-masterships of the three military orders; but required from him an oath, that he would not, by a second marriage, attempt to deprive their posterity of Arragon and his other territories.

On the death of Isabella, Joanna and Philip were proclaimed sovereigns of Castile; and Ferdinand, in quality of regent, assuming the government, obtained the confirmation of the cortes. The young and ambitious archduke was highly irritated by this disappointment of his hopes, and protested against the will of Isabella, which excluded the rightful sovereign from all share in the government. Encouraged by a powerful party of Castilian nobles, who were averse to the rigorous administration and austere manners of Ferdinand, he required his father-in-law to resign the reins of government, and retire from Castile. Ferdinand, despised the injunction of a presumptuous youth, but neglected no means to maintain his power; he even entered into a private negotiation with Joanna, who,

after her delivery, had rejoined her husband in the Low Countries, and prevailed on the weak princess to sign a deed, confirming his right to the regency. But this intrigue being discovered, Joanna's letter of approbation was intercepted, and she herself confined like a state prisoner, and secluded from all communication with her Spanish domestics.

Philip now seemed on the point of attaining his object; for the great body of the Castilian nobles espoused his cause, and he deemed himself secure of assistance from Louis XII., who was bound by the most solemn engagements to support his rights. But the resources of Ferdinand were not exhausted; for in order to exclude the house of Austria from the succession both of Castile and Arragon, he first proposed a match with Joanna*, daughter of Henry IV. king of Castile, and niece of his deceased queen, Isabella, who had been declared illegitimate; and failing in this project, by the opposition of the king of Portugal, as well as the disinclination of the princess, he endeavoured to form an alliance with the king of France, and requested in marriage his niece, Germaine de Foix, a princess in the eighteenth year of her age.

Louis, whose connections with Philip had been derived from temporary expedience, eagerly accepted a proposal which was likely to disunite the crowns of Castile and Arragon, and prevent the reversion of Naples to the house of Austria. He therefore only temporised till he had secured the investiture of Milan, which he obtained from Maximilian, and then broke the treaty of Blois, which he

* Henry IV., brother of Isabella, excited, by his weak and flagitious conduct, great discontents in Castile. The nobles rose and offered the crown to Isabella; but as she declined holding it by a contested title, the nobles compelled him to divorce his queen, who was accused of adultery, to declare his daughter illegitimate, and to nominate Isabella his successor. Henry afterwards revoked his deed, and on his death bequeathed his dominions to his daughter. The party of Isabella, supported by Ferdinand, was too powerful to permit this disposition, and after a short opposition, the unfortunate princess renounced her pretensions, and retired into a convent in Portugal. In this obscurity she remained during the life of Isabella, and would not again have attracted notice, had not the unnatural resentment of Ferdinand induced him to solicit her hand. It is, however, but justice to the princess to add, that she declined the union.

had never intended to fulfil. He affianced his daughter, Claude, to Francis, duke of Angoulême, his presumptive heir, and, before the close, in 1505, entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, by which he promised to give him his niece in marriage, and to support him against the emperor and the archduke. Naples was secured to the children of Ferdinand by Germaine de Foix, and, in failure of issue male, was to revert to the crown of France.

Philip was thunderstruck by the defection of a sovereign on whose friendship he had implicitly relied, and alarmed with the prospect of losing so important a territory. He saw the necessity of adopting a new line of conduct, and with more address and dissimulation than seemed natural to his youthful and ardent mind, made overtures to Ferdinand, and proposed a friendly compromise of their disputes. Ferdinand was duped by these proofs of apparent moderation, and hastily concluded a treaty with Philip at Salamanca, by which the government of Castile was to be exercised in the joint names of Joanna, Ferdinand, and Philip, and the revenues, with the right of conferring offices, to be equally shared between Ferdinand and Philip. Having thus lulled his father-in-law into security, the archduke, accompanied by Joanna, with a numerous fleet, and a large body of troops, sailed from the Low Countries, in order to land in Spain, and assert his right by arms. His fleet being dispersed by a tempest, he took refuge in England; but, after a short delay, re-embarked and landed at Corunna, without experiencing any opposition from Ferdinand. The Castilians warmly declaring in his favour, Ferdinand resigned the regency of Castile, retaining only the masterships of the three military orders, and retired into Arragon: while Philip assumed the government with youthful exultation. He sedulously secluded his unhappy consort, whose insanity daily increased, and endeavoured to procure a resolution of the cortes, declaring her incapable of reigning, and investing him with the administration till his son attained his majority. But he could not induce the Castilians to infringe their ancient law of succession, and they tendered their allegiance to Joanna as their rightful sovereign, to Philip as her legitimate husband, and to the young archduke Charles as prince of

Asturias, and successor to the crown. The short administration of Philip was agitated by discontents arising from the changes of the great officers of state, from his cruelty to his queen, and partiality to his Flemish favourites. The people began to regret the departure of Ferdinand, and the commotions which took place in various parts of the kingdom portended a new revolution, when a fever, occasioned by excessive exercise, hurried Philip to the grave, on the 25th of September, 1506, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the fourth month of his administration. Philip left two sons, Charles, who had just reached his seventh year, and was then in the Low Countries; and Ferdinand, who was scarcely four, and had remained in Spain from his birth, under the care of his grandfather. He left beside three infant daughters, and his wife was again pregnant at the time of his decease.

By the death of Philip, the authority reverted to Joanna; but her disordered intellects received such an additional shock from the loss of her husband, as reduced her to a state of total insanity. Absorbed in sullen melancholy, she passed her whole time in contemplating the dead body, refused either to assume the government, to appoint a regency, or to convoke the states, and referred every demand and every proposal to her father. In this state of suspense, a junto of the nobles appointed a council of regency, till the states of the kingdom could assemble; but this council was divided by the contests of discordant parties; some were desirous to consign the chief authority to Maximilian, others to Ferdinand, and proposals were even made to marry Joanna to a prince capable of assuming the administration, or to send for the young prince of Asturias from the Low Countries, and carry on the government in his name by means of a council of regency. The same discordance of sentiment which divided the council, agitated the whole kingdom; commotions and insurrections broke out in various parts, and the country became a prey to all the horrors of civil discord and anarchy.

During these troubles, Ferdinand had repaired to Naples, in order to receive the allegiance of his new subjects, and to remove Gonsalvo, who, notwithstanding his great services, had incurred his jealousy. Relying on the zeal

of his partisans, aware of his own ascendency over the mind of his daughter, and sensible that the horrors of anarchy would only render the Castilians more desirous to consign to him the reins of government, he delayed his return, and seemed to pay little attention to the contests in Castile, in which his own interests were so deeply involved.

On the other hand, Maximilian displayed his characteristic eagerness to obtain the regency, which he claimed as grandfather and natural guardian of the young prince. Though at too great a distance, and too much involved in the affairs of Germany, to interfere personally in the contests which agitated Castile, he omitted no effort to animate the zeal of the Austrian party, and sent an embassy, requiring Ferdinand to acknowledge the authority of the self-appointed council of regency, and to use his good offices with the king of France, for the fulfilment of the treaty of Blois. To these demands Ferdinand briefly replied, that no council of regency existed in Castile, as the queen, his daughter, was the sole and rightful sovereign, and if she was unable or unwilling to exercise the government, the authority devolved on him, not only as her father, but in virtue of the testament of Isabella. He concluded with justifying the conduct of Louis in neglecting to fulfil the treaty of Blois.

Soon afterwards, Ferdinand departed from Naples, renewed his union with the king of France, in an interview at Savona, and landed at Valencia. Proceeding into Castile, he was met at Tortoles by his daughter, who threw herself at his feet, and surrendered to him all her authority. He assumed the reins of government without opposition, punished the refractory nobles, humbled the partisans of the house of Austria, and established internal tranquillity. To consolidate his authority, he required the presence of the young prince of Asturias, under the pretence of habituating him to the language and manners of the people over whom he was to reign.

Maximilian disdainfully rejected this demand, and with a view to foment the discontent of the Castilians, circulated reports that he was about to sail for Spain, at the head of a considerable force, and despatched, as his am-

bassador to Ferdinand, Andrew del Burgo, who had been banished from Castile for his turbulence. On the refusal of Ferdinand to receive his minister, the emperor, in 1508, employed Don Pedro Guevara, as a private agent, to form a party among the disaffected nobles, and particularly to gain the great captain, who was banished in disgrace to his estates. His agent was, however, arrested in the disguise of a domestic, put to the torture, and compelled to disclose his intrigues and connections. This was the last effort of Maximilian to obtain the regency of Castile. Unable to shake the authority, or baffle the vigilance of Ferdinand, he abandoned his projects, and soon afterwards united with him in the celebrated league of Cambray against the Venetians.

Maximilian had at first no better success in his attempts to obtain the government of the Low Countries. The states of the seventeen provinces refused to acknowledge his right to the guardianship of his grandsons, and the government of the country, and formed a council of regency under the auspices of the king of France as liege lord of Flanders. Being, however, soon disturbed by intestine commotions, and the country invaded by the duke of Guelderland, they voluntarily offered him their submission. He accepted their offer, appointed guardians to his grandson, and, as his attention was called to the affairs of Italy, he intrusted the administration to his daughter Margaret, widow of Philibert, duke of Savoy, in whose talents and integrity he justly placed the highest confidence.

While the emperor was employed in the intricate affairs of Spain and the Low Countries, the seeds of new contests were sown in Italy. With the assistance of France, Cæsar Borgia, the profligate but enterprising son of Alexander VI., had succeeded in subjugating, or acquiring by treachery, the principal towns of Romagna, with the duchy of Urbino, and forming them into an independent sovereignty. He was pursuing his plans of aggrandisement, when his progress was arrested by the death of his father, on the 18th August, 1503. A violent disorder, attributed to poison, prevented him from influencing the conclave in the choice of a pope, and enabled many of the lords of Romagna to

recover the places which he had wrested from them. At the same time, the Venetians obtained possession of Faenza, with other towns of less importance in its vicinity, and were preparing to extend their acquisitions into other parts of Romagna. After a long and arduous struggle between the French party, who wished to elect the cardinal d'Amboise, and those who were attached to Spain and the house of Borgia, the intrigues of cardinal Julian de Rovere raised to the pontificate Pius III., whose advanced age and infirmities rendered a speedy vacancy not improbable, and who died at the expiration of only twenty-six days. Julian, who before had deceived his friend and patron, the cardinal d'Amboise, now equally duped Cæsar Borgia, and by promising to confirm the sovereignty which he had raised during the pontificate of his father, obtained his powerful support, conciliated the Italian party, and, on the first day of the conclave, was himself elected without opposition.

The character and principles of Julius II. occasioned a sudden revolution in Italy; and his pontificate forms a new æra in the history of the church. At the age of sixty-three, he joined all the ardour and enterprise of youth with perseverance, firmness, and decision, and displayed a love of military glory and a thirst of conquest, which better accorded with his model, Julius Cæsar, from whom he is said to have assumed his name, than with the manner, deportment, and pursuits which became the head of the church, and the father of Christendom. Before his elevation, he had obtained a reputation for probity and good faith; but, afterwards, he showed the same disregard of his word, and the same contempt of the most solemn engagements, as Alexander Borgia. His ends, indeed, were different; for as Borgia had directed all his efforts, and sacrificed the interests of the church, for the aggrandise- of his family, so Julius sacrificed all concern for his family, and relinquished the comforts and repose which are so grateful to age, for the aggrandisement of the church. The two great objects which occupied his attention, were the recovery of all the territories claimed by the see of Rome, and the expulsion of foreigners, whom, in the language of his countrymen, he termed barbarians, from Italy; these objects he pursued with a systematic coolness and

flexibility totally foreign to the natural fire, austerity, and enterprise of his character.

Having wrested from Cæsar Borgia the towns which still continued faithful to him in Romagna, Julius required the Venetians to restore the places which they had occupied, and, on their refusal, organised the league of Blois with Louis and Maximilian, for the dismemberment of their territories. But his principal design being less to humble the Venetians than to regain the territories of the church, he availed himself of the alarm which this powerful confederacy excited in the councils of the republic, and suffered himself to be gained by the cession of all the contested towns, except Faenza and Rimini.

After these acquisitions, he matured his grand and favourite plan for the expulsion of foreigners from Italy. The preponderance which the house of Austria had gained by the accession of Philip to the government of Castile, rendering him jealous of Maximilian, he united with Louis, the Venetians, and other states of Italy, to prevent his meditated journey to Rome, for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown; an expedition which in all ages had excited the apprehensions of the popes. But on the death of Philip, and the union between the kings of France and Arragon, his views were directed to lower the ascendency of France; and his apprehensions, as well as his jealousy, were excited by the preparations made by Louis to suppress an insurrection of the Genoese, who had thrown off his domination. With real or affected alarm, Julius appealed to the emperor and states, and urged that the purpose of Louis was not merely to recover Genoa, but to place the cardinal d'Amboise in the papal chair, and by his influence to obtain the imperial crown, and entail it on the successors of Charlemagne. He therefore earnestly exhorted the king of the Romans to cross the Alps with a considerable army, and to support, by his presence, the liberties of Italy and the honour of the empire; his exhortations were warmly seconded by the Venetians, who offered the German troops a free passage through their territories.

This appeal reached Maximilian in June, 1507, at the time when he had opened a diet at Constance, and was en-

deavouring to obtain the support of the states for his intended expedition to Rome. Still incensed at the rupture of the treaty, he eagerly seized a pretext to check the ambitious projects of Louis, and recover the Milanese. He therefore laid these requests before the diet, and with the persuasive eloquence which he possessed in so eminent a degree, expatiated on the encroaching and ambitious spirit of the French monarch, and displayed the fatal consequences which might ensue from his recent aggrandisement and meditated plans of conquest. He drew a striking picture of the degradation of the empire in so long and so tamely submitting to the invasion, conquest, and alienation of the imperial fiefs, and dwelt on the designs of Louis to wrest the crown of the empire from the Germans; he concluded with solemnly pledging himself, in the presence of the Germanic body, to lead an army across the Alps, and restore the honour and authority of the empire in Italy.

The states, affected by this powerful appeal to the national honour, unanimously exclaimed, "We will once more teach France, and the enemies of the empire, that the Germans want neither power nor spirit to vindicate the honour which they have derived from their forefathers!" This burst of patriotism was followed by proposals to form an army of 90,000 men, which was to be joined by 12,000 Swiss; and the specific proportions of the states were adjusted without delay. Nor was this spirit permitted to subside; the levies were made with an alacrity unusual in Germany, and Maximilian found a ready acquiescence from nine of the Swiss cantons, who promised to supply him, as head of the empire, with an aid of 6000 men.

Louis was greatly alarmed at these mighty preparations, and, to avert a war with the empire, relinquished his ambitious designs. He had, therefore, no sooner reduced Genoa, than he disbanded his army, and, by his emissaries in Germany, endeavoured to obliterate the impressions made by the efforts of Maximilian and the pope. By his intrigues, the alarms of the diet were tranquillised, the military preparations were suspended, and, instead of an army for the conquest of Italy, the states only voted 12,000 men for six months, with a proportionate train of artillery,

and a gratuity of 100,000 florins, to be paid in the ensuing October.

Maximilian was equally surprised and exasperated by this unexpected change; he had soon the additional mortification to find, that the Swiss were influenced by the same motives as the diet, and although they did not retract their promise of support, yet they rendered it null by stipulating that their troops should not act against the king of France. Notwithstanding these disappointments, Maximilian persisted in his enterprise; but during the interval which had elapsed since the meeting of the diet, the sentiments of the pope and the Venetians had likewise totally changed. The conduct of Louis, in disbanding his army, removing their alarms, they no less dreaded the presence of Maximilian than that of the French, on the other side of the Alps; the secret league, to prevent his entrance into Italy, was renewed, and active preparations made to resist his passage. Even before his departure from Constance, the Venetians despatched an ambassador to declare their resolution not to permit him to cross the Alps with more than 4000 men; while their papal legate announced the reconciliation of the pope with Louis, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his expedition.

Even these obstacles did not shake his resolution, although he was joined by only a part of the troops, and received scarcely a fourth of the subsidy voted by the states. At the head of no more than 25,000 men, including his own forces, he crossed the Alps at the commencement of 1508, and advanced into the bishopric of Trent. After an ineffectual attempt to succour the disaffected party in Genoa, he assumed the title of emperor elect, and demanded from the republic of Venice a passage through their territories to receive the imperial crown at Rome, and quarters for 4000 horse. This demand was rejected, although with great demonstrations of respect, and he was offered a permission to pass without an army. But Maximilian had foreseen this refusal; on receiving the answer, he published the ban of the empire against the doge and senate, and pushed forward himself, at the head of 1500 horse and 4000 foot, towards Vicenza, while a detachment under the marquis of Brandenburgh advanced against

Roveredo, and a second, bursting into the Friuli, captured Cadora. On the approach of the Venetian and French forces, the emperor again retired, on the fourth day, to Bolzano, and, by a rapid movement, rejoined his troops in the Friuli.

Disappointed in his expectations of receiving money and reinforcements from the empire, and apprehensive of being overwhelmed by superior numbers, he reluctantly abandoned his ill-judged enterprise. As a pretence to save his honour, he published a bull from the pope, which confirmed to him and his successors the title of Roman emperor elect; and leaving his troops in Friuli, hastened by Innspruck to Ulm, in order to reanimate the diet, and procure succours from the states of the empire, particularly from the Suabian league. But while he was pressing his demands, the Venetian and French troops, hemming in the Germans in the Friuli, defeated and made them prisoners, and recovered Cadora and the other places which had yielded to the first efforts of the emperor. Pursuing their success, they overran the counties of Goritz and Gradiska, took Trieste and Fiume, and would likewise have conquered the bishopric of Trent, had not the French king withdrawn his support from jealousy of the Venetians.

The remnant of the German troops having disbanded on the expiration of their term of service, Maximilian was reduced to the necessity of soliciting a peace from the Venetians; and a congress was opened at Venice. After some delays and discussions, arising from the efforts of the French ambassadors to include in the truce the Low Countries and Germany, whither the war had likewise extended, the Venetians, on the 6th of June, 1508, agreed to a separate armistice with Maximilian for three years, on the condition of retaining and fortifying their conquests for that period; and three months were allowed to the king of France for his accession.

CHAP. XXIV. — 1509–1516.

MAXIMILIAN was deeply affected by the disgrace of his arms in Italy, and by the loss of the maritime provinces; and his concern was heightened by the childish exultation of the Venetians, who gratified their general Alviano with a Roman triumph, for his victories over the German forces, and proclaimed their joy by caricatures, theatrical representations, and satirical songs. At the same time, he recalled to his recollection the numerous humiliations which his ancestors had experienced from the haughty republic, and the various fiefs which it had wrested from his family and the empire. In this state of mind he repressed the glowing resentment which he had so long fostered for the injuries and aggressions of France; and concentrated the whole force of his intellect, and the whole vigour of his faculties, to wreak his vengeance upon the Venetians.

He found a similar disposition in the pope, in the other states of Italy, and in the kings of France and Arragon; for there was scarcely a power in the south of Europe which this haughty and flourishing republic had not offended by its pride, injured by its rapacity, or betrayed by its perfidy. Louis XII. coveted the possession of Brescia and Bergamo, which, during the administration of the Sforza family, they had dismembered from the duchy of Milan, and of Cremona and the Ghiradadda, which he had himself yielded to them as the price of their assistance during his Italian expeditions; he had been offended by their support of his enemies during the war for the kingdom of Naples, and his indignation was now redoubled by the conclusion of the separate armistice with the emperor. The king of Arragon, on his part, forgot the important aid which he had derived from the secret connivance or open support of the Venetians, to which he was principally indebted for the possession of Naples, and with that selfish policy which marked all his actions, was anxious to deprive them of the maritime towns of Trani, Brindisium, Gallipoli, and Otranto, which had been mortgaged to them by

the former Neapolitan kings of the house of Arragon. Julius II. had reluctantly suffered the Venetians to retain possession of Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna; and his pride was wounded by the disrespect which they testified towards the Roman see, and by their refusal to confirm the nomination of his nephew to the bishopric of Vicenza. The minor princes of Italy were eager to concur in accelerating the downfall of Venice, whose encroaching and domineering spirit had kept them in perpetual apprehension; and their cupidity was stimulated by the prospect of sharing in the spoils. The duke of Savoy was desirous to obtain Cyprus; the Polesino of Rovigo tempted the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines hoped to acquire Pisa, which, by the assistance of the Venetians, had hitherto opposed their arms.

Such were the causes of the celebrated league of Cambray, which united in one grand confederacy so many princes and states, discordant in interests, and differing in characters, and which was concluded with a celerity and secrecy almost unexampled in political negotiations. The first overture seems to have been made by Maximilian, through his favourite minister, the bishop of Gurk, to the cardinal d'Amboise, and the proposal was eagerly received by the French court. Under the ostensible pretext of arranging the disputes between the emperor, as guardian of Charles, and the duke of Guelderland, a meeting was appointed at Cambray, in December, 1508, between Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, and the cardinal, who were both intrusted with full powers. A princess, the favourite daughter and counsellor of her father, and a prime minister who possessed the full confidence of his sovereign, did not act with the timidity and reserve of common negotiators. In a few conferences all the long-pending disputes between the house of Austria, the king of France, and the duke of Guelderland, were arranged; the duke was permitted to retain the places which he possessed in Guelderland, and his claims were to be referred to the arbitration of Louis and the emperor. The young archduke Charles was to succeed to the rights and privileges enjoyed by his father, in regard to the moveable fiefs dependent on the crown of France; for the sum of 100,000 ducats, the emperor was

to give to Louis a new investiture of the duchy of Milan, which was to descend both to the male and female lines; and he also agreed to renounce the clause of the treaty of Blois, which related to the intermarriage of their two families.

These were the ostensible arrangements; but at the same time the great object of the meeting was effected by private articles for the conquest and partition of the Venetian territories on the continent, which were concluded in the names of the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Arragon. The pope was to acquire Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Cesena; the king of France, Cremona, the Ghiaradadda, Brescia, Bergamo, and all the places dismembered from the Milanese; Ferdinand the four maritime towns, and all the places held by the Venetians in the kingdom of Naples; and Maximilian to receive, in addition to the territories wrested from him in the last war, Roveredo, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevigi, and the Friuli. To save the honour of Maximilian, he was not to engage as a principal, before the expiration of the truce recently concluded with the Venetians; but was in the mean time to act at the summons of the pope as protector of the church. The other allies were to exert their whole force without delay; and the pope, employing both spiritual and temporal arms, was to lay the republic under an interdict. At the same time, to prevent any personal dispute between Maximilian and Ferdinand, which might check the operations of the league, the contests for the government of Castile were to remain dormant till the conclusion of the war.

As the papal legate had not received full powers, the cardinal d'Amboise himself approved these articles in the name of the pope, as legate for France. But Julius delayed the ratification, as well from apprehensions of establishing a foreign power more formidable than that of the Venetians in Italy, as from the hopes of obtaining his share of the spoils without a contest. He therefore made private overtures to the Venetians, gave them the first authentic information of the league, and offered not only to withdraw from the confederacy, but even to effect its dissolution, if they would restore to the holy see Faenza and

Rimini. The republic, however, rejected this demand; and after an ineffectual attempt to detach Maximilian, prepared to resist the powerful force which was assembling against them.

While the pope, and the kings of France and Arragon, were collecting their troops, Maximilian assembled the diet at Worms, on the 21st of April, 1509, and submitted to them the plan of the league, for their approbation and support. But he found them still more averse to his views than on former occasions; and their answer is a striking proof of the dissatisfaction which at this time pervaded Germany. Not content with a direct refusal, they made a public declaration of their inability to support the frequent burdens of numerous diets, journies, expeditions, wars, contingents, and succours; they denied any obligation to concur in the execution of a treaty made with France and the pope, without their knowledge or consent; and with a tacit reproach on the former transactions of the emperor, they urged that the grant of succours, instead of producing honour and advantage, would only expose the empire to new disgrace and embarrassment, and lead to the same misfortunes as the aids voted at the last diet of Constance.

These grating reflections drew from Maximilian his celebrated Apology, in which he entered into a vindication of his conduct, and recriminated on the proceedings of the states with equal energy and justice. After ridiculing their affectation of penury, justifying himself against the imputation of convoking unnecessary diets, and stigmatising their procrastination, excuses, and endless evasions, he continued: "I have concluded a treaty with my allies, in conformity to the dictates of conscience and duty, and for the honour, glory, and happiness of the Sacred Empire, Germany, and Christendom. The negotiation could not be postponed, and if I had convoked a diet to demand the advice of the states, the treaty would never have been concluded. I was under the necessity of concealing the project of the combined powers, that we might fall on the Venetians at once and unexpectedly, which could not have been effected in the midst of public deliberations, and endless discussions; and I have, I trust, clearly proved the advantage which is likely to result from this union, both in

my public and private communications. If the aids granted at Constance, and by other diets, have produced nothing but disgrace and dishonour, I am not to blame, but the states, who acted so scandalously in granting their succours with so much reluctance and delay. As to myself, I have, on the contrary, exposed my treasure, my countries, my subjects, and my life, while the generality of the German states have remained in dishonourable tranquillity at home." "I have more reason," he concluded, "to complain of you than you of me, for you have constantly refused me your approbation and assistance; and even when you have granted succours, you have rendered them fruitless, by the scantiness and tardiness of your supplies, and compelled me to dissipate my own revenues, and injure my own subjects."

These bitter remonstrances producing no effect, Maximilian hastily quitted Worms, for the purpose of collecting troops in his hereditary countries, to fulfil the stipulations of the league. But the tardiness and pertinacity of the diet were amply compensated by the promptitude and vigour of the French. Early in the year, hostilities were commenced by Chaumont, governor of Milan, and before the end of April, Louis himself, at the head of 17,000 men, crossing the Alps, totally defeated the Venetians on the 14th of May, near Agnadello*, captured their general Alviano, and made himself master of their whole train of artillery. The consequences of this splendid victory threatened the instant ruin of the republic; in less than seventeen days, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Peschiara, and the places assigned to Louis by the league of Cambray, opened their gates, and the conqueror, advancing to the shore, insulted the mistress of the Adriatic with a distant cannonade. At the same time the pope promulgated a bull of excommunication against the Venetians, and 10,000 of his troops took possession of Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and other towns, almost without opposition. The duke of Ferrara occupied the Polesino of Rovigo, and the marquis of Mantua recovered Asola and Lunatto, which the republic had wrested from his grandfather. During these events, likewise, the

* This battle is generally known by the name of Ghiaradadda, from the district in which it was fought.

imperial generals, Frangipani and the duke of Brunswick, re-occupied Goritz, Trieste, and all the other places wrested from Maximilian in the preceding war, and even took possession of Feltri and Belluno. In consequence of these rapid successes, Maximilian himself was preparing to pass into Italy, to occupy Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, whose submission Louis refused to accept, from an affected adherence to the treaty of partition, and ordered the keys to be delivered to the imperial ambassadors in his camp.

This series of disasters astounded the Venetian senate, and for a moment seemed to deprive them of that Roman fortitude which had formerly upheld them on the verge of destruction. With a view to divide the enemy, or to concentrate their forces for the defence of their capital, they withdrew their garrisons from all the towns claimed by the allies in Lombardy, and restored to the king of Arragon the maritime fortresses of Apulia. They even despatched emissaries with humble proposals of peace to the pope, the king of Arragon, and particularly to the emperor, to whom they offered the restitution of all the places dismembered from the house of Austria, or the empire; and agreed to acknowledge him as liege lord, and pay him an annual tribute of 50,000 ducats.

The pope received these agents with new complaints and new demands, and the emperor seemed to be tempted by the magnitude of their offer; but he was prevented from accepting their submission by the remonstrances of the cardinal d'Amboise, who, on the 14th of June, had repaired to Trent to receive the investiture of Milan, as proxy for his master. After that ceremony, Maximilian renewed the treaty of Cambray, and accepted the proposal of an interview with Louis on the Lago di Garda; and, as if desirous to obliterate all causes of jealousy or suspicion, he even despatched a messenger to Spire, to destroy a book in which he had registered all the injuries and insults experienced by his family, or by the empire, from France.

But it was the fate of Maximilian to fail in his foreign enterprises, even when he seemed most secure of success. In consequence of his refusal to meet the king of France, and the intervention of other causes less known, a jealousy arose between the two monarchs. Louis accordingly, after

leaving garrisons in the ceded fortresses, and a small corps of cavalry at the disposal of Maximilian, retired to Milan; and Maximilian, from want of money, was unable to advance with sufficient promptitude into Italy, to secure the places which had been ceded to him. The Venetians, recovering from their despondency, and encouraged by the secret assurances of the pope and the king of Arragon, retook Padua, Castelfranco, and Legnano, besieged Verona, which was defended by a corps of French troops, and captured the marquis of Mantua, who had been called in to assist in the defence of the place. During these events, Maximilian was employed in collecting an army; and commencing his march at the head of 18,000 men, was harassed in the passes which intersect the mountains of Vicenza, by the peasants, who were devoted to the Venetians. Having at length forced his way into the plains, he, with a spirit above his means, exhorted his allies to attempt the reduction of Venice itself; but this chimerical proposal was not supported by the king of France, and was opposed by the pope and the king of Arragon. His urgent exhortations, however, induced the allies to supply him with succours, and, being reinforced by 18,000 French, Spanish, and Italian troops, he laid siege to Padua; but the garrison, commanded by the celebrated count of Pitigliano and the ablest captains of the age, and animated by the presence of the young Venetian nobles, who crowded as volunteers to the scene of action, made a spirited resistance; and, at the close of an arduous siege, the emperor abandoned his enterprise, and retired to Vicenza, where he was deserted by many of his troops. After having in vain endeavoured to detain the French corps, and then to negotiate a truce with the Venetians, he vented his anger in fruitless threats and bitter complaints against the lukewarmness of his allies, and retreated hastily across the Alps. The Venetians availed themselves of his absence, and the separation of the confederate forces, to recover Feltri and Belluno, with various fortresses in the Trevigiano, and the important city of Vicenza; and made an irruption into the territories of Ferrara.

The league of Cambray, like every other confederacy, uniting princes and states of jarring interests and dis-

cordant characters, contained within itself the principles of dissolution. The king of Arragon was indifferent for the final success of the league; the French monarch and the emperor were jealous of each other, and the pope jealous of all. From these causes had arisen the want of mutual support and co-operation, which had marked the preceding campaign, and to which the Venetians owed their recovery from almost inevitable ruin.

The first who openly contravened the league was Julius II. Having gratified his pride in humbling the Venetians, and his interests in securing Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, he again resumed with new vigour his grand plan of expelling the barbarians from Italy. With this view he had secretly encouraged the Venetians, received their offers of submission in opposition to all the remonstrances of the French and imperial ambassadors, and was justly suspected of having procured by bribes the surrender of Vicenza to the republic. During the whole of the campaign, he had scarcely concealed his lukewarmness for the common cause; and when Maximilian and Louis quitted Italy, he threw off the mask, and published, on the 21st of February, 1510, a treaty of peace, which he had secretly concluded with the Venetians, by revoking his ecclesiastical censures, and relieving the republic from excommunication. Considering the French as his most dangerous enemies, he endeavoured to form a confederacy which might enable him to expel them from Italy. By the intervention of Matthew Schinner, the celebrated cardinal of Sion, he subsidised 6000 Swiss, and successfully applied the cantons, whom Louis had offended by refusing to increase their subsidies, and by contemptuous sarcasms on their indigence and venality. He united with the Venetians, permitted the feudatories of the church to enter into their service, gained Ferdinand of Arragon by granting him the investiture of Naples, and endeavoured to excite the king of England against France. He also exerted his efforts to reconcile Maximilian with the Venetians; but he was unable to effect an accommodation, as the republic, instead of offering to restore the places which had been yielded to the emperor, demanded even the cession of Verona.

While the pope was thus labouring to effect a new revo-

lution in Italy, Maximilian had summoned a diet at Augsburgh, and found the states more compliant than on the former occasion. The attempts of the pope and Venetians to alienate the diet from their chief, produced a contrary effect; and Maximilian, assisted by the money and influence of France, procured the expulsion of the papal legate, the publication of the ban against the Venetians, and a succour of 6000 infantry and 1800 horse. This success encouraged him to take a more decided part against the pontiff, and he revived the ancient disputes between the church and the empire, by laying before the diet a list of the grievances which the German nation had suffered from the exactions and pretensions of the popes.

On the failure of all attempts to negotiate a peace, hostilities re-commenced at the opening of the spring. In consequence of the secession of the pope, and the inactivity of Ferdinand, the Venetians had only to contend against France, the emperor, and the duke of Ferrara; and as Maximilian was too much occupied with the affairs of the empire, to lead his army in person, or despatch any reinforcement, the French were only assisted by 4000 Germans, who remained in Italy. These united forces were, however, sufficient to recover almost all the places in Lombardy, which the Venetians had occupied at the close of the preceding campaign. But the emperor gained no advantage by these successes; for want of money and the scantiness of his force induced him to mortgage Verona to the French king, whose troops soon afterwards retired into the Milanese, to resist an invasion threatened by the pope.

During the preceding transactions, Julius had assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Bologna, for the purpose of attacking the duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. He maintained a secret correspondence with the disaffected party in Genoa, and with the assistance of the Venetians, had prepared an armament to surprise the city; he had likewise engaged the Swiss to make an irruption into the Milanese, and he obtained from the Venetians the release of the marquis of Mantua, whose military talents rendered his alliance an important acquisition, and whose territories were opportunely situated for promoting an at-

tack against the Milanese. His preparations being completed, he summoned the duke of Ferrara, as a vassal of the Roman see, to secede from his connection with France, and followed his summons by despatching against him an army under his nephew and the duke of Urbino, which obtained Modena by treachery, captured Carpi, Finale, and other important places, and threatened Farrara itself. On the side of Genoa, Antonio Colonna advanced to La Spezia, with a considerable corps of cavalry and infantry, while a Venetian squadron of twelve galleys appeared off the port, and at the same time 15,000 Swiss advanced towards Como.

This storm was diverted by the vigilance and skill of Chaumont, governor of the Milanese. Genoa was secured on the side of the land by powerful reinforcements, and the Venetian galleys were compelled to retire by a French squadron; the Swiss also, harassed by continual alarms, and deprived of provisions, retreated again to their Alps, without risking an engagement. Chaumont then hastened to relieve the duke of Ferrara, and pushing his parties into the territories of the church, even insulted Bologna, whither the pope had repaired to superintend the operations of the war. Julius, who was confined by illness, averted the impending danger, by entering into an illusory negotiation; but, on receiving reinforcements from the king of Arragon, and the French retiring into the Milanese, he renewed hostilities against the duke of Ferrara. He forgot the infirmities of age, and the sanctity of his office, and in the depth of winter laid siege to the important fortress of Mirandola. He himself superintended the operations, slept within cannon-shot of the walls, appeared armed in the trenches, animated the troops by his exhortations and example, and, when the town surrendered on the 21st of January, 1510, was conveyed through the breach in military triumph. This diversion, and the separation of the French and Ferrarese troops, rendering the forces of Maximilian too feeble to cope with the Venetians, they retired to Verona; Vicenza, and many other places, again returned to their former masters, the Venetians even bombarded Verona, and the town was only preserved by the French garrison.

The perfidious conduct of the pope roused the indignation both of the king of France and the emperor; and Louis, with the characteristic ardour of his nation, first threw down the gauntlet. Either from respect for the church, or with a view to allay the apprehensions of the superstitious, he summoned a national council at Tours, at which the bishop of Gurk was present as ambassador from the emperor; and proposed the question, Whether it was lawful to support a Christian prince, a feudatory of the empire, when unjustly attacked by the pope? His demand being answered in the affirmative, he revived the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII., which, like the electoral union in Germany, was calculated to diminish the revenues and patronage of the church, and he also obtained from the assembly a request to summon a general council at Pisa, for the ostensible purpose of reforming ecclesiastical abuses.

Maximilian warmly concurred in the views of Louis, and proposed, in 1510, to introduce a similar pragmatic sanction into Germany; his circular letter from Gelnhausen to the states, relative to the convocation of a general council, breathes a spirit of hostility against the pope, scarcely less vehement than the declarations of the early emperors, or the writings of the protestant reformers. "The power and government of the pope," he said, "which ought to be an example to the faithful, present, on the contrary, nothing but trouble and disorder. The enormous sums daily extorted from Germany are perverted to the purposes of luxury or worldly views, instead of being employed for the service of God, or against the infidels; although liberal alms have been at all times granted by the kings of the Romans, and so extensive a territory has been alienated for the benefit of the pope, that scarcely a florin of revenue remains to the empire in Italy. As king of the Romans, as advocate and protector of the Christian church, it is my duty to examine into such irregularities, and exert all my efforts for the glory of God, and the advantage of the empire; and as there is an evident necessity to re-establish due order and decency, both in the ecclesiastical and temporal state, I have resolved to call a general council, without which nothing permanent can be effected."

The two monarchs did not express their resentment by decrees alone, but concurred in arrangements for the prosecution of hostilities in the ensuing campaign. On the 17th of November they concluded a new treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, at Blois. Maximilian was to receive a subsidy of 100,000 ducats, and at the commencement of the spring engaged to cross the Alps in person, with an army of 3000 horse and 10,000 foot, which was to be reinforced by Louis with 1200 lances and 8000 foot; and a squadron of French gallies was to co-operate in the Mediterranean. In pursuance of this plan, Maximilian, like Louis, summoned a national council of the German bishops at Augsburgh, but found them less compliant than Louis had found the prelates of France; for they firmly withstood all his instances, from the apprehension of occasioning a new schism in the church. Although Maximilian issued his edict for a general council, this failure, and the persuasion of Ferdinand, probably induced him to consent to a congress, for the purpose of effecting a general accommodation; and in January, 1511, plenipotentiaries from all the belligerent powers assembled at Mantua. Negotiations were instantly commenced, and Julius, whose whole views were concentrated on the expulsion of the French, again laboured to detach Maximilian. But all his efforts were ineffectual; for the emperor was too earnestly bent on acquisitions in Italy, to accept the pecuniary equivalent offered by the Venetians for his pretensions; and when the congress was broken up by the intrigues of the pope, he drew still closer the bands of union which he had formed with France.

It is difficult to ascertain the motives which induced Maximilian to form so close a connection with France, and to maintain it with such an unusual degree of pertinacity; but from the preceding negotiations he was probably aware that the pope and the Venetians would not allow him an establishment in Italy; and he therefore considered the assistance of France as the only means of attaining his favourite object. Other motives, far more chimerical, have been assigned. Some have asserted that Louis lured him with an intended partition of Italy, by which he was to receive the states of the church, and the territories of

Venice; and France to acquire the states of Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Florence, and Genoa. Others relate a scheme still less rational, but which rests on a more authentic foundation; this was, the romantic project to resign the empire to his grandson, and to obtain the papacy on the meditated deposition of Julius. Whatever were his motives, he was unable to bring a force into the field sufficient to realise pretensions far more moderate than the conquest of Italy, or the deposition of the pontiff. After all these threats and preparations, the duke of Brunswick was despatched late in the spring with a small corps to overrun the Friuli, and gained some advantages; but when the approach of winter compelled him to retreat across the Alps, his transient conquests were again secured by the Venetians. On the other hand, the imperial troops, who had remained in Italy, being joined by French reinforcements from the Milanese, made some trifling acquisitions in the territory of Vicenza.

Louis, though left to cope alone with all the forces of the enemy, prosecuted his design of conquering the papal territories and deposing the pope. By his orders Trivulzio, who had succeeded Chaumont in the command of the army, forced his way to Bologna, and aided by an insurrection of the inhabitants, expelled the garrison, and totally defeated the combined forces under the walls, on the 21st of May, 1511. No obstacle seemed now likely to prevent the progress of the French army at Rome; but Louis was embarrassed by his own successes; he was assailed by the scruples of his queen, Anne of Brittany, who considered the war as sacrilegious: the same spirit pervaded his army; and he was apprehensive lest the further progress of his arms should induce the king of Arragon to join the pope, in order to secure the safety of Naples.

While Louis was hesitating and indecisive in the midst of success, Julius, in the midst of adversity, and oppressed with disease, acted with equal energy, decision, and address. On the approach of the French, he retired from Ravenna to Rome, and to gain time, opened a negotiation as before. Meanwhile he wrought upon Ferdinand of Arragon, obtained from him reinforcements, and by his means gained his son-in-law, Henry VIII. king of England. Although

Louis again withdrew his army into the Milanese, Julius did not relax in his intrigues or exertions; and, in conjunction with the king of Arragon and the Venetians, consolidated a confederacy, known by the denomination of the Holy League, not only to protect the territories and maintain the authority of the church, but to expel the French from Italy. As a counterpoise to the council of Pisa, he convoked another at the Lateran, put Pisa itself under an interdict, and excommunicated all who protected or adhered to an assembly which was intended to subvert the authority of the church. In consequence of this firmness and resolution, the council of Pisa, which had been convoked with such solemnity, soon dwindled into insignificance; it was only attended by five disaffected cardinals, who were themselves hesitating, and by a few French bishops, who reluctantly obeyed the mandates of their sovereign. The emperor seems to have withdrawn his countenance and support, for not a single German bishop made his appearance; and at length the inhabitants of Pisa expelled the members, who, after wandering from place to place, took refuge at Milan.

While Julius wielded his spiritual thunders with energy and effect, he was equally active and successful in negotiations and intrigues. By his instigation, and by the agency of his creature, the cardinal of Sion, 17,000 Swiss again burst into the Milanese, bearing the great standard, which they had raised against the duke of Burgundy in the preceding century, and assuming the title of "Defenders of the Church and Subduers of Princes." The French army gave way to this torrent, and the Swiss marking their footsteps with pillage and devastation, directed their march towards the capital. At the same time the publication of the Holy League, and the advance of Spanish troops on the side of Naples, announced the renewal of hostilities on the part of the pope; the king of England, lured by the title of Defender of the Faith, prepared to join the Holy League, and invade France; and even the emperor himself, who had adhered to Louis with such unusual perseverance, began to display symptoms of returning inconstancy.

Maximilian had ere now discovered that his alliance with Louis was not attended with all the advantages which he

had figured in his romantic imagination; he therefore listened to the arguments of the crafty king of Arragon, who, since his connection with the pope, had incessantly endeavoured to detach him from France. A sense of shame, and the bitterness of his resentment against the Venetians, for some time held him in suspense; but he was at length influenced by the magnitude of the combination which was forming against France; and still more by the lures of Ferdinand, who tempted him with the prospect of recovering the Milanese, and even of succeeding to the papacy. The dangerous illness with which Julius was attacked at the opening of the council of Pisa, revived the hopes and roused the ambition of the sanguine emperor. For the purpose of bribing the cardinals, he mortgaged the archducal mantle of Austria, to the celebrated Fuggers, the bankers, of Augsburgh; and when the recovery of the pope baffled his expectations, he did not relinquish his project, but endeavoured to secure the reversion of the papal chair, by obtaining the office of coadjutor to the Roman see.*

While the allies of the Holy League were endeavouring

* A letter from Maximilian to his daughter, Margaret, on this subject, has been preserved; a translation of which is here inserted: —

"To-morrow I shall send the bishop of Gurk to the pope at Rome, to conclude an agreement with him, that I may be appointed his coadjutor, and on his death succeed to the papacy, and become a priest, and afterwards a saint, that you may be bound to worship me, of which I shall be very proud. I have written on this subject to the king of Arragon, entreating him to favour my undertaking, and he has promised me his assistance, provided I resign the imperial crown to my grandson, Charles, which I am very ready to do. The people and nobles of Rome have offered to support me against the French and Spanish party; they can muster 20,000 combatants, and have sent me word that they are inclined to favour my scheme of being pope, and will not consent to have either a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Venetian. I have already begun to sound the cardinals, and for that purpose, two or three hundred thousand ducats would be of great service to me, as their partiality to me is very great. The king of Arragon has ordered his ambassadors to assure me, that he will command the Spanish cardinals to favour my pretensions to the papacy. I entreat you to keep this matter secret for the present; though I am afraid it will soon be known, for it is impossible to carry on a business secretly, for which it is necessary to gain over so many persons, and to have so much money. Adieu. Written with the hand of your dear father Maximilian, future

to detach Maximilian, they matured their military preparations. The papal and Venetian forces were re-organised and strengthened by reinforcements of Spaniards, under the command of Cardona, the viceroy of Naples, and laid siege to Bologna, notwithstanding the advance of the season and the severity of the weather. The place was pressed with the utmost vigour, and reduced to the last extremity, when it was relieved, and a new aspect given to the declining affairs of France, by the exertions of its youthful hero, Gaston de Foix.* Being appointed governor of Milan, he averted the imminent danger of the Swiss invasion by intrigues and money, and after they had pushed their march as far as the Adige, prevailed on them to return to their Alps. Thus relieved, he assembled a small but select force, and by a singular instance of good fortune and intrepidity, threw this succour into Bologna, and compelled the besiegers to retire. Being called from Bologna, by an irruption of the Venetians, who had obtained possession of Brescia and Bergamo, he hastened in the commencement of 1512, to the scene of action, recovered the two towns, and defeated the enemy with considerable slaughter. He then returned, and joining the forces of the duke of Ferrara, laid siege to Ravenna. The attempts of the allies to raise the siege, brought on the memorable

pope, Sept. 18. The pope's fever is increased, and he cannot live long."

This letter has been considered by some as not authentic, and by others as a mere sportive effusion; but there is sufficient collateral evidence for a strong presumption of its authenticity: in particular a letter from Maximilian to his minister, the count of Lichtenstein, preserved in Goldastus; and an intercepted letter from Ferdinand the Catholic to Maximilian, exhorting him to resign the crown to his grandson, Charles, as a means of obtaining the pontifical throne, which had always been his wish since the death of his wife. Guicciard. lib. xii.

* Gaston de Foix was son of John de Foix, comte d'Etampes, by Mary of Orleans, sister of Louis XII. At an early age he gave proofs of splendid talents, and was only twenty when he perished in the arms of victory. Louis was so much affected by his loss, that he exclaimed, "I would rather have not a single inch of ground in Italy, if I could on that condition restore to life my dear nephew, and the brave men who perished with him. God forbid that we should ever again obtain such victories!"

battle of Ravenna, which occurred on the 11th of April, and in which the French were successful, but purchased the victory with the loss of their youthful hero, who was killed in the ardour of pursuit. The victory was complete; 9000 of the confederates fell in the engagement, and the cardinal legate, John de' Medici, with many of the principal officers, were made prisoners. The day after the battle Ravenna surrendered, and its example was followed by the principal places of Romagna, which hastened to deliver their keys to the victors.

The tide of success, which had so suddenly turned in favour of the French, accelerated the defection of Maximilian. He had entered into negotiations with the Venetians, and a few days before the battle concluded with them a truce for ten months, on the payment of 50,000 ducats, and ordered the German troops to quit the standard of France. His defection was more fatal to the French than his assistance had been advantageous. In spite of promises and entreaties, the Germans, who had principally contributed to the victory of Ravenna, deserted in whole bodies; the Grisons, who had promised their assistance, also refused to fight against their brethren the Swiss; and the French commander, La Palice, after leaving scanty garrisons in Ravenna and Bologna, withdrew with the remainder of his forces to the defence of the Milanese. The invasion of Navarre, and of France, on the side of Fontarabia, by the king of Arragon and Henry VIII., hastened the downfall of the French dominion in Italy; many of the troops being recalled across the Alps, the remainder were scarcely sufficient to garrison the fortresses, and suppress the insurrections of the natives, who every where manifested their eagerness to shake off a foreign yoke. The ruin of the French power was completed by an irruption of the Swiss; with the permission of Maximilian, a body of 18,000 marched through the Tyrol, and, joining the combined forces near Verona, expelled the French troops from the duchy, except the garrisons of Brescia and Crema, and those of the citadels of Milan, Novarra, and Cremona, all of which afterwards surrendered.

Maximilian derived little advantage from these successes, for the bait, which had contributed to lure him into a neu-

trality, was wrested from his grasp. On the expulsion of the French, a struggle ensued for the possession of the Milanese, which Maximilian claimed for one of his grandsons; but the pope was too anxious to complete his project of excluding foreigners from Italy, to listen to these pretensions; and the Venetians were averse to suffer the vicinity of so powerful a neighbour as the house of Austria. The duchy was accordingly restored to the family of Sforza, in the person of Maximilian, the son of Ludovico, who, since the capture of his father, had been an exile and a fugitive; and the conquerors appropriated various dismembered districts. Parma and Placentia were assigned to the pope, with the reserve of the rights of the empire. The bailliages of Lugano and Locarno were ceded to the Swiss cantons; the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, to the Grisons; and the claims of the emperor were silenced with a sum of money, which he received on investing Maximilian Sforza with the Milanese, on the 29th of December, 1512.

During the truce concluded between Maximilian and the Venetians, the pope in vain endeavoured to effect an accommodation. The republic, refusing to cede Verona and Vicenza, and to do homage for their continental territories as fiefs of the empire, Maximilian united with the pope in a league to extort their consent; and to gratify the pontiff, promised to concur in dissolving the council of Pisa, which still held its sittings at Lyons, to acknowledge that of the Lateran, and to assist the holy see in maintaining possession of Parma, Placentia, Modena, and Reggio, as fiefs of the empire.

To fortify themselves against the pope and the emperor, the Venetians again sought the friendship of France, agreed to concur in recovering those territories, from which they had contributed to expel the French, and were in return to be assisted in regaining all their former possessions, except Cremona and the Ghiaradadda. Thus, after a singular series of revolutions, the pope and the emperor, the king of France and the Venetians, were again opposed to each other in the same manner as on the first irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy.

Julius dying on the 21st of February, 1513, soon after

the conclusion of this treaty, the cardinals, who were acquainted with the designs of Maximilian on the papacy, hastened a new election, and conferred the tiara on John, cardinal de Medici *, who assumed the name of Leo X. The new pope was only thirty-six, and inherited the splendid talents, and the passion for letters, which distinguished the house of Medici. With more flexibility of character, and mildness of deportment, he pursued the same system of policy as his predecessor, and, according to his interests, and the change of circumstances, promoted or thwarted different combinations. He found himself seated on the papal chair, when the power of Julius had reached its height, when the church had regained all the territories except Bologna, Ancona, Ferrara, and Urbino, which it had either claimed or possessed in former times; and as he envied the splendid reign of Julius, he was eager to distinguish his pontificate by the magnificence of his court, and the glory of his achievements.

Secure of the new pope, Maximilian, by means of his daughter, Margaret, on the 5th of April, concluded at Mechlin a treaty with the king of England, for the invasion of France, in which the pope and the king of Arragon were included. Ferdinand soon deserted the league, and concluded a truce with France for the preservation of Navarre, which he had recently acquired; but Henry was too eager for military fame, and too much devoted to the pope to relinquish his hostile projects, and was encouraged by the splendid promises of Maximilian. He accordingly crossed the channel at the head of 45,000 men, landed at Calais, and, pushing into Artois, laid siege to Therouenne; and Maximilian, unable to fulfil his magnificent promises, and desirous to prevent the ill consequences of a competition for the command, served in the English army as a volunteer, with the pay of one hundred crowns a day. In reality, however, he directed the operations of the campaign; and again distinguished his skill and valour, by a

* After being taken by the French at the battle of Ravenna, John de' Medici found means to escape, at the very moment when he was being conveyed as a prisoner to France, and but a short period before the death of the pope. The reader will find an interesting account of his critical escape, in Roscoe's Leo X.

splendid victory at Guinégatte, over a French army which advanced to the relief of Therouenne. This action, or rather rout, was memorable for the capture of the duke of Longueville, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of distinction, and is known by the name of the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French were reproached with using their spurs rather than their swords. The victory was followed by the surrender of Therouenne, and the investment of Tournay; but the garrison holding out with great firmness, the capture of that fortress terminated the operations of the campaign, and Henry soon afterwards returned to England.

During the preparations made by England, Louis had actively exerted himself to recover his lost territories in Italy; and conscious that he owed his principal reverses to the enmity of the Swiss, left no effort unattempted to regain their confidence. He lavished his bounties on the leading men, and despatched La Tremouille, under whom the Swiss had acquired such honour in the Milanese, to the national diet at Lucern; but the cantons displayed the most inveterate enmity against France, insulted and persecuted the French agents and partisans, and renewed the hereditary union with Maximilian. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Louis did not relinquish his object, and an army of 20,000 men, under Trivulzio and La Tremouille, entering the Milanese, re-conquered the whole duchy, except Como and Novarra; at the same time the Venetians took Cremona, Vallegio, Peschiaro, and Brescia; Soncino, Lodi, and other places, raised the standard of France; while a French fleet recovered possession of Genoa.

The loss of the whole Milanese was now solely prevented by the bravery of the Swiss, who conveyed the young duke to Novarra, and prepared to defend the town to the last extremity. They were besieged by La Tremouille; but on the arrival of a reinforcement of 8000 of their countrymen, who had descended the valley of Aost, they attacked on the 6th of June, 1513, the French camp, and, after a desperate conflict, gained a decisive victory. The remnant of the defeated army retired into Piemont; the different towns vied in returning to obedience, and Maximilian Sforza was a second time restored by the prowess of the

Swiss. The recovery of the Milanese was instantly followed by the recapture of Genoa, and the united troops of the emperor and the king of Spain expelled the Venetians from all their acquisitions, except some places in the Friuli, with Trevigi and Padua.

While the Swiss were thus acting as the arbiters of Italy, they were instigated by Maximilian and the pope to attack France in a more vital part; 26,000 men, joined by 3000 imperial horse, invaded Burgundy, by the way of Franche Comté, and laid siege to Dijon. This storm, which menaced the capital itself, was averted by the address of La Tremouille, who had thrown himself into the town. By the intervention of some prisoners, he found means to open a negotiation with the Swiss leaders, gained them by private largesses, and acceded to all their exorbitant demands; he agreed that his master should renounce his claims to the Milanese, Asti, and Genoa, submit his pretensions on the duchy of Burgundy to a legal adjudication, dissolve the council of Pisa, and pay 400,000 crowns to the confederates, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. Though the extravagance of these concessions proved that they were never intended to be fulfilled, the Swiss resisted all the remonstrances of the imperial general, and retired to their mountains with hostages for the ratification of the terms. The approach of winter having removed all apprehensions of a new irruption, La Tremouille was soon afterwards disavowed by his sovereign.

The danger of new attacks, however, induced Louis to disengage himself from his host of foes by separate and successive negotiations. He gained the pope, by renouncing the council of Pisa, and acknowledging that of the Lateran; he conciliated Ferdinand, by renouncing his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and by agreeing to betroth his daughter, René, to one of the archdukes, and to secure, as her dowry, the Milanese, Asti, and Genoa. By these concessions, and by promising to undertake no expedition against the Milanese for a year, he also obtained the acquiescence of Maximilian; and he finally purchased a peace from Henry VIII. by a considerable sum of money, and by espousing his sister, the princess Mary. Still, however, hostilities continued between the Venetians and the allies

of the Holy League; and all the attempts of the pope, who was anxious to restore peace to Christendom, in order to form a crusade against the Turks, could only effect a temporary armistice. In a war, which was principally confined to posts, the imperial troops had at first the advantage; but at the close of the campaign, the Venetians again recovering from their losses, regained most of their territories on the Terra Firma, except Verona and some neighbouring places, which were left in the possession of the emperor. On the other hand, the French garrisons were expelled from the citadels of the Milanese; and Genoa totally liberated from a foreign yoke, by the surrender of the fortress of La Lanterna.

The ruin of the French power in Italy was followed by the restoration of the Medici in Florence, and the final destruction of the government established under the auspices of the French. John, cardinal de' Medici, and Julian, the two sons of Lorenzo the Magnificent, were restored to the rights of citizens, and obtained the sole administration of government, and Julian succeeded in the government of Florence.

During the interval of the truce, Louis had been making vast preparations for the re-conquest of the Milanese; but he died on the 1st of January, 1515, before he could carry his projects into execution, and was succeeded in the throne by his collateral relative and son-in-law, Francis, duke of Angoulême. The new monarch was in the prime of youth, with the mind and deportment of a hero. He was generous, affable, and possessed all the great, as well as all the amiable qualities, which render a sovereign the delight of his age, and the glory of his country. He was not of a temper to relinquish the pretensions of his predecessors on Naples and the Milanese; but he had the address to veil his purposes, under the pretext of chastising the Swiss for their irruption into Burgundy. His enterprising spirit and ambitious character, however, exciting alarm, all the powers of Italy, except the Venetians, combined to resist his aggressions, and made urgent solicitations for the co-operation of Henry VIII., and of the archduke Charles, who had recently assumed the government of the Netherlands. But Francis disappointed their hopes, by persuading Henry

to renew the alliance with France; and the archduke Charles, by confirming the treaty of marriage concluded between Ferdinand and Louis XII., and by entering into reciprocal engagements for the defence of the dominions which they then held, or should afterwards acquire; a stipulation which virtually included the accession of Charles to the dominions of Spain, and the intended conquest of the Milanese by Louis.

As Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, and as Maximilian was employed in the affairs of Hungary, the principal defence of the Milanese rested on the Swiss, who despatched a reinforcement into the country, and occupied Susa and Pignerol, the passes through which the French had hitherto penetrated into Italy. Francis was not daunted by these obstacles. After leaving forces for the security of his kingdom against the attacks of the king of Arragon and the Swiss, he assembled his army on the frontiers of Dauphiné, and suddenly scaling the rugged and almost impassable mountains between the Cottian and Maritime Alps, appeared, after five days of incessant toil, like another Hannibal, in the plains of Saluzzo. This unexpected passage, by a route hitherto considered as impracticable to cavalry and artillery, astounded the confederates; and the approach of the French was so rapid, that La Palisse captured the celebrated general Prospero Colonna, with a detachment under his command, at Pignerol.

As the French advanced, the confederates retreated, and concentrated their force for the defence of Milan. Their numbers amounted to 30,000, and, had they continued united, they might still have arrested the progress of the enemy; but the want of provisions, the failure of the pope in paying their subsidies, and the equivocal conduct of the Spanish commander, who seemed to stand aloof, occasioned violent discontents in their army. The French monarch promptly availed himself of these circumstances, opened conferences with the Swiss leaders, and by liberal concessions, and profuse bounties, prevailed upon them to enter into a treaty of peace on the 8th of September, and abandon the defence of the Milanese: 12,000 commenced their march towards their own frontiers; but the remainder,

excited by the eloquence of the cardinal of Sion, and encouraged by the approach of other confederates, attacked the French camp at Marignano. Although the hostile army consisted of 50,000 select troops, provided with a train of artillery more powerful than any before seen in Italy, and headed by their gallant sovereign, the Swiss forced their lines, and, after a bloody conflict, penetrated into the heart of their camp. Night suspended the action, without separating the combatants, who were mingled on the field of battle; and Francis himself slept on the carriage of a cannon, within fifty paces of a Swiss battalion. At break of day the contest was renewed with increasing fury; and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the French, and the effects of their powerful artillery, the victory was only wrested from the Swiss by the sudden arrival of a reinforcement of Venetians under Alviano. At last the Swiss sounded a retreat, rather quitting the field than ceding the victory. In this sanguinary conflict both parties lost their bravest troops and best officers, and it was the remark of the veteran Trivulzio, that twenty-eight pitched battles, in which he had been engaged, resembled the play of children, but this was a battle of giants.

The consequence of this victory was the retreat of the Swiss to their own country, and the reduction of the whole Milanese: Maximilian Sforza, surrendering* himself to the conqueror, ceded all his pretensions to the duchy, and was conducted into France, where, like his father and cousin, he died in exile. Genoa again submitted to the dominion of the French, and the pope, alarmed by their successes, concluded with the king of France the treaty of Viterbo, by which he yielded Parma and Placentia, and promised the restoration of Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara; in return, Francis engaged to protect the church, and to support the authority of the house of Medici in Florence.

Maximilian had been diverted from taking an active share in this eventful campaign, by objects on the side of

* According to Guicciardini, Maximilian Sforza spoke of his captivity as "a deliverance from the servitude of the Swiss, the outrages of the emperor, and the treachery of the Spaniards." He was kindly treated in France, and received a pension of 30,000 ducats.

Austria far more important than the uncertain acquisition of trifling conquests in Lombardy. Hungary and Bohemia* had been coveted by the princes of the house of Austria since the elevation of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh to the imperial throne, and they had endeavoured to secure the reversion of the two crowns by various treaties and compacts. Maximilian himself had renewed these engagements with Ladislaus, when he recovered Austria from the Hungarians in 1491; and, in 1506, had led an army against a powerful body of the nobles, who associated to exclude a foreign king, and secure the throne for the count of Zips†, palatine of Hungary and bannat of Croatia. During that expedition, the queen of Ladislaus was delivered of a son; and Maximilian, after extorting from the diet the acknowledgment of his claims, respected the right of the infant prince and retired into Germany. Unwilling, however, to rely on compacts, which had been so frequently annulled, Maximilian was anxious to render the hopes of his family more secure by a double marriage between Louis and Anne, son and daughter of Ladislaus, and two of his grandchildren. He found a ready compliance on the part of Ladislaus; but was opposed by his brother, Sigismond, king of Poland‡, who, on the former occasion, had supported the count of Zips, and who fostered a personal resentment against Maximilian for protecting the Teutonic knights. To extort the acquiescence of Sigismond, who possessed considerable influence over his brother, Maximilian formed alliances with the Teutonic knights, and Vasili Ivanovitch, great duke of Muscovy; and still further to strengthen his party, gave his grand-

* Hungary and Bohemia were, at this period, equally important from their situation and extent. To Bohemia were annexed Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; and the dependencies of Hungary were Bosnia, Servia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Transylvania, and part of Wallachia, and Moldavia.

† Stephen of Zapola, count of Zips, and palatine of Hungary, was father of John of Zapoli, waivode of Transylvania, afterwards competitor with Ferdinand for the crown of Hungary, and of Barbara, queen of Sigismond, king of Poland. — Benko. tom. i. p. 185.

‡ In consequence of the deaths of his brothers, John Albert, and Alexander, without issue, Sigismond became king of Poland (1507), and reunited to the crown the duchy of Lithuania.

daughter, Isabella, in marriage to Christian II., king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, the most powerful sovereign of the north. By these means he gained his object; for Sigismond, alarmed at the combination formed against him, agreed to the proposed marriages, and acquiesced in the eventual transfer of the crown of Hungary and Bohemia to the Austrian family. To complete the union, the two monarchs visited Vienna, on the 16th of July, 1515, and were charmed with the splendour and magnificence of their reception, which better accorded with the liberal spirit than with the treasures of Maximilian. As he was then a widower, the king of Bohemia even proposed to accept him as a son-in-law, and pressed him to espouse his daughter, though she was only thirteen, and he fifty-eight; but he declined this ill-assorted match, by jocularly quoting an adage of his father, Frederic, "That there is no method more pleasant to kill an old man than to marry him to a young bride." The articles of the intermarriages were accordingly arranged, by which Louis was betrothed to the archduchess Mary, and Anne to one of the archdukes, for whom Maximilian was proxy. The marriages afterwards took place, and Ferdinand, by accepting the hand of Anne, secured to his family the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia.*

Maximilian had not long arranged this union, before he had the pleasure of witnessing the fulfilment of the views with which he had concluded the marriage of his son, Philip, with Joanna, princess of Castile. Ferdinand dying in January, 1516, the archduke Charles became undisputed heir to the whole Spanish monarchy, including Sicily, with Naples and Navarre, which Ferdinand had recently obtained by conquest.

Francis I., encouraged by his successes, prepared to take

* A detailed and interesting account of the whole negotiation, and the royal meeting at Vienna, is given by Spietzhammer, one of the envoys of Maximilian, who, according to the custom of the age, assumed the Latin name of Cuspinianus, which has nearly the same signification. Cuspiniani Diarium de Congressu Maximiliani et trium Regum, &c. Freyherus, vol. ii., in which also is an account of the journey of the bishop of Gurk, the principal ambassador, written by Bartholinus; Fugger, b. vi. ch. 17.; Bonfinius; Pelzel, p. 510.

advantage of the embarrassments arising from the death of Ferdinand, and the youth and situation of his successor, to assert the pretensions of France to the crown of Naples. But while he was meditating new plans of conquest, he was threatened with the loss of the Milanese, the recovery of which had so splendidly distinguished the commencement of his reign. Maximilian, on the other hand, expecting to be assisted by all the treasure and forces of Spain and the Low Countries, was anxious to realise his darling project of recovering the imperial fiefs, and reviving the imperial authority in Italy. In addition to 20,000 ducats, which he had received from the late king of Arragon, he obtained considerable sums from Henry VIII. With this money he subsidised 13,000 Swiss, procured from his grandson, Charles, succours in men and money, and soon assembled 30,000 men, an army greater than he had ever before led into Italy. He was secretly encouraged by the pope, whose jealousy of the French had never subsided, and who was galled by the loss of Parma and Placentia, and wished to avoid the cession of Modena and Reggio, which he had deferred under various pretences. In this situation, Maximilian descended in March, 1516, from Trent into the plains of Italy, relieved Brescia, which was closely pressed by the French and Venetians, captured Lodi, and invested Milan. Bourbon, the French governor, was on the point of surrendering, and the reduction of the whole Milanese was only prevented by the arrival of 13,000 Swiss and Grisons, who were subsidised by the French agents. The Swiss on both sides refused to draw the sword against their countrymen, and those in the imperial service, as if desirous of a pretext for disbanding, loudly clamoured for their pay. Their leader, Staffler, even burst into the bedchamber of Maximilian, and insolently repeated their demands; being reproved, he haughtily replied, "the Swiss want florins, not correction, and if you will not grant them their due, they will instantly accept the offers of the duke of Bourbon." Maximilian was deeply affected by these proofs of discontent; he began to suspect the fidelity of the Swiss, and the similarity of the circumstances alarmed him with the apprehension of a fate similar to that of Ludovico Sforza, at Novarra. These terrific notions were so deeply

impressed on his imagination, that in his dreams, and in the solitude of night, he fancied he saw the spectres of his ancestor Leopold, who perished at the battle of Sempach, and Charles, who fell at the battle of Nancy, warning him to beware of the Swiss.* In this state of anxiety and suspense, a letter from Trivulzio to the Swiss leaders, which was intended to be intercepted, wrought up his terror to the highest pitch, and hastily breaking up his camp, he retired beyond the Adda. The Swiss instantly giving way to their cupidity, pillaged the towns of Lodi and St. Angelo, and were only prevented from returning to their own country by the payment of 16,000 crowns, which the emperor had with difficulty obtained from the district of Bergamo, and by the promise of further gratifications. But the money which he expected for this purpose was appropriated by the garrison of Brescia; the city of Cremona refused the promised contribution, and he was obliged to distribute among the Germans 30,000 crowns, which he received from Henry VIII. In this extremity he quitted the camp, and hastened to Trent, under pretence of procuring a new supply; and his troops, after in vain expecting his return, disbanded of their own accord, some crossing the Alps, others retiring to Verona, and 3000 deserting to the Venetians. This retreat was soon followed by the recapture of Brescia and the investment of Verona.

Notwithstanding this failure, Maximilian was of too enterprising and sanguine a disposition to relinquish his project; and he endeavoured to form a league with England, the pope and his grandson, against the French; but he experienced a new and unexpected disappointment. His grandson, Charles, who was eager to take possession of his rich inheritance, was less anxious to reduce the French power in Italy, than to obtain a free passage into Spain, and secure the Netherlands from internal troubles and external invasion during his absence. He, therefore, listened to the overtures of Francis, and concluded in August, 1516, the treaty of Noyon, by which he engaged to espouse Louisa, the infant daughter of Francis, and to accept, as her dowry, the renunciation of his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; he promised to pay annually for the maintenance

* Barre, tom. viii. part 1. p. 1052; Schmidt, tom. v. p. 475.

of her court, and the expenses of her education, 100,000 crowns; and he likewise engaged to give satisfaction to the family of Albert for their claims on the crown of Navarre. This treaty was soon followed by a perpetual peace between Francis and the Swiss, which obviated all apprehension for the safety of the Milanese.

In consequence of these events, Maximilian saw all his hopes annihilated, and had no other resource than to accept terms of accommodation. A convention was accordingly concluded at Brussels, in December, 1516, between the emperor and Francis, in virtue of which Maximilian retained Roveredo, Riva, and his other conquests in the Friuli, ceded Verona to the Venetians for a sum of money, and was to receive from Francis an acquittance for the 300,000 crowns, which had been advanced to him by Louis.*

Thus terminated this inauspicious war, which Maximilian commenced with the prospect of acquiring the greater part of Venetian Lombardy, and perhaps still more extensive dominions in Italy; and after a long series of disgraces and disappointments, was compelled to conclude without any other compensation than a trifling acquisition of territory; while he had the mortification to see the pope in possession of Romagna, and the French masters of the Milanese and Genoa.

CHAP. XXV.—1500–1519.

HAVING carried down the affairs of Italy, from the commencement of the league of Cambray to the termination of the war, we now resume those of Germany.

However unsuccessful and wavering Maximilian may be deemed in his wild schemes of foreign politics, yet in the internal administration of his own territories and of the empire, he was distinguished for the wisdom of his measures and the utility of his establishments. In 1500, he induced the German diet to adopt the system of Albert II.

* These crowns were probably the petits ecus, or equivalent to 2*s.* 6*d.*

and to divide a part of the empire into districts or circles, each of which was charged with the maintenance of the public peace among its own members; but as the dominions of Austria and Burgundy were excluded, and as the electors refused to include their territories in the division, the new system was at first confined to Bavaria, Franconia, Suabia, Saxony, the two circles of the Rhine and Westphalia, which are termed the six ancient circles. The advantages of this division encouraged Maximilian to resume the project at the diet of Cologne in 1512, by forming the territories of his family into the two circles of Austria and Burgundy. All the electors following his example, a new arrangement was made, by which the empire was divided into the ten circles of Austria, Burgundy, the Upper and Lower Rhine*, Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, Westphalia, and Upper and Lower Saxony. The affairs of each circle were to be regulated in an assembly or diet; and over each was appointed a director for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and a colonel or leader for military expeditions, and the care of the troops and fortresses. The director, who was generally the most powerful prince in each district, was nominated by the emperor, and the colonel by the states of the circle. Other regulations were at the same time sketched out, particularly the establishment of a senate or permanent council, to accompany the emperor, but these were not, at that time, carried into execution, and have since sunk into oblivion.

The constant and active part which Maximilian took in the transactions of the empire, and of Europe, has principally attracted the attention of historians, who have almost passed over in silence those of his own hereditary dominions. But their very silence proves the vigour and wisdom of his administration; for it evinces that his states were relieved from those troubles and disorders which mark the reigns of all his predecessors; and all his provinces exempted from the distresses and calamities of war, except those which were exposed to the attacks of the Venetians.

The internal regulations which he made in his hereditary

* The circle of the Lower Rhine is sometimes called the electoral circle, because it comprised the dominions of the four electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Palatine.

countries reflect the highest honour on his reign. Having first secured to them the advantages arising from the public peace, by forming them into a circle of the empire, he afterwards reduced the interior polity into a system, by subdividing them into the districts of Lower and Exterior Austria*, and those into smaller districts, which were governed by separate courts. He first established in Austria various boards or colleges for the administration of justice, the management of the revenue, the direction of the ordnance, buildings, the affairs of the chase, and other rights of the sovereign. Over these he instituted a tribunal, since known by the name of the Aulic Council, which was to receive appeals, and to assist him with a written opinion in political affairs of importance.† The same system was afterwards extended to Exterior Austria, by the establishment of councils of regency at Innspruck for the Tyrol, and at Encisheim for the other provinces. By these and other judicious regulations, and by the vigilance of his government, Maximilian retained his turbulent nobles in subjection, and kept his dominions in a state of uninterrupted tranquillity. His example produced a salutary effect, and under his reign the jurisprudence of Germany acquired a systematic consistency, by the introduction of similar aulic councils at the courts of the different princes.

The last public act of his reign was the convocation of a diet at Augsburgh, on July, 1518, for the purpose of reviving the crusade against the infidels, and of obtaining the election of his grandson, Charles, as king of the Romans.

The recent conquest of Egypt by the sultan Selim, and the destruction of the Mammeluc government, had occasioned the greatest consternation among the European powers, particularly the states of Italy. Maximilian himself, when delivered from the Venetian war, eagerly took

* Lower Austria comprised Austria above and below the Ems, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, with their dependancies. Exterior Austria, the Tyrol, and the remainder of the German territories in Suabia and Alsace, with Goritz, and the other possessions on the Adriatic. — De Luca, vol. ii. p. 160—169.

† This tribunal having afterwards extended its jurisdiction to the empire, the Austrian affairs were treated separately, and the council still exists under the name of the Aulic Council of the Empire.

advantage of this alarm, and hoped to distinguish the close of his reign by leading an army against the infidels. Anticipating the full co-operation of the European states, he struck a medal, in which he was designated as lord of the West and East, and flattered himself with the prospect of again rendering Constantinople the seat of a Christian empire. The pope also entered into his views, sent him a consecrated hat and sword, declared the kingdom of the East an imperial fief, and appointed him generalissimo of the Christian army, which was to consist of Germans and French, while the English, Portuguese, and Spaniards were to furnish a naval armament.

He laid his plan before the diet, and appealed to the states with his usual eloquence *; and his arguments were supported by the papal legate, who proposed to apply the tenth of all ecclesiastical, and the fiftieth of all secular possessions to the support of the war. But the arguments of the emperor, and the instances of the legate, were answered by remonstrances against the exactions of the pope; and a considerable sensation was excited by a writing attributed to Ulric of Hutten, which was circulated among the members, describing the pope as a more dangerous enemy to Christianity than the Turks, and charging the court of Rome with having drained the states of Christendom by annates, reserves, tenths, and other exactions. This disposition † was fatal to the views of the emperor; instead of meeting his project with the enthusiasm which he had fondly expected and had endeavoured to excite, the states only decreed, that, during three years, every person who received the sacrament should contribute the tenth of a florin towards the Turkish war; and referred the final discussion to a future meeting.

The same ill-success attended his attempts to secure the election of his grandson. He had already entered into secret negotiations with several of the electors, and Charles

* The substance of this speech is given by Melanchthon, in his Chronicle, p. 712.

† Barre, tom. viii. p. 1078., has made a singular mistake in regard to this circumstance, by imputing the failure of the crusade to the sudden death of the sultan, which, he says, induced the diet to separate; whereas Selim did not die till 1520. — See Knolles, p. 561.

had sent into Germany a considerable sum to bribe the electoral college. By these means Maximilian secured the votes of Mentz, Cologne, Palatine, and Brandenburgh; but he experienced an opposition from Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, who, as one of the vicars of the empire, wished for an interregnum, and the elector of Treves, who was devoted to France. In addition to these obstacles, the nomination of Charles was counteracted by Francis I., who aspired to the imperial dignity, and by the pope, who was unwilling to see the crowns of the empire and Naples united in the same person. In consequence of this opposition, the electors declined the proposal of Maximilian, by urging their usual plea, that as he had not been actually crowned at Rome, they could not infringe the laws of Germany by electing two kings of the Romans. With a view to obviate this objection, Maximilian solicited Leo to depute a papal legate into Germany with the crown and insignia, in order to perform the coronation; but his instances were evaded under different pretences; and, having failed in all his endeavours to convince the electors of the validity of the bull of Alexander VI., which declared him as much emperor as if crowned at Rome, he was obliged to defer his project to a future occasion.

But these events were trifling in comparison with the commencement of the great controversy, concerning the sale of indulgences, which distinguished the close of Maximilian's reign, and produced a more important revolution in the religious, moral, and civil state of society, than any other event since the propagation of Christianity.

Martin Luther, the author of this extraordinary revolution, was the son of John Luther, a refiner of metals, and was born in 1483, at Eisleben, in Saxony. He acquired the first rudiments of learning in the house of his father, who, having obtained a considerable share in the mines of Saxony, settled at Mansfield, where he became chief magistrate. He continued his studies in the universities of Eisenach and Magdeburgh, made a great proficiency in the Latin language, and, in 1501, repaired to the university of Erfurth, where he took the degree of master of arts. He intended to study the civil law, but was diverted from his purpose by the death of a friend, who was struck dead by

lightning at his side. This awful event made a deep impression on his mind, naturally serious and devout; he retired, without the knowledge of his parents, into a monastery of Augustin friars at Erfurth, and assumed the habit of the order, in the twenty-second year of his age. During his residence in this monastery, he discovered a copy of the Latin Bible, which, at that period was interdicted to the laity, and scarcely known to the clergy. His curiosity being stimulated by the discovery, he studied the secred writings with extraordinary ardour and perseverance; and to this accident may be attributed his adoption of those opinions which produced the Reformation, and the skill and success with which he defended his principles against the papal advocates.* At length, the reputation which he acquired for sanctity and learning induced Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony†, to appoint him a pro-

* To the common reader it will appear extraordinary, that the Bible was so scarce at this period, although printing had been invented nearly a century. But it must be recollected that Bibles, though printed, were yet scarce and dear, and the perusal was interdicted to the laity, except on certain conditions: even the clergy, either from indolence, or from the common system of scholastic divinity, were versed in the fathers, the canon law, and the schoolmen, more than in the Bible. The general ignorance of the clergy on this subject, is proved from a sermon delivered before the council of Constance, in which a professor of divinity observes, that there were many prelates who had never read more of the sacred writings than a few passages scattered in the canon law. Even Luther himself, though a man of such assiduous application and eager curiosity, was surprised, when he discovered the copy of the Bible, to find that it contained so much more than was inserted in the liturgies and breviaries. (Beausobre, tom. i. p. 42.) On this subject the ignorance of the common monks is scarcely credible. According to Conrad of Heresbach, one of the mendicant monks observed, in a sermon, "They have invented a new language, which they call Greek; you must be carefully on your guard against it; it is the mother of all heresy. I observe, in the hands of many persons, a book, written in that language, and which they call the New Testament; it is a book full of daggers and poison. As to the Hebrew, my dear brethren, it is certain that those who learn it, become instantaneously Jews."—Villiers, Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, p. 93.

† The territories of the house of Saxony had been divided by Frederic II., who died in 1464, between his two sons, Ernest and Albert, who thus formed the Ernestine and Albertine lines. Ernest, the elder, received the electorate, with the largest share of territory; and Albert,

fessor of philosophy in the new university of Wittemberg, at the recommendation of Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustin order. The youthful professor justified the choice, by discarding both the form and expressions of the old scholastic system, and delivering lectures, which were fraught with unusual knowledge, with bold and novel opinions, and distinguished by perspicuity and eloquence.

Being despatched to Rome on the business of his order, he was struck with the corruption of the Roman court, and the profligacy of the clergy; and, from this impression, lost much of the reverence which, while distant, he had entertained for the forms and ceremonies of the church; for he afterwards observes, that he was ridiculed for his devout celebration of the mass, and struck with horror at the levity with which he saw it performed by others.* On his return being created doctor, and made professor of divinity, he distinguished himself no less in his theological than in his philosophical lectures. Instead of imitating the example of his contemporaries, who loaded their writings or discourses with multiplied quotations from the ancient schoolmen, expatiated on fictitious miracles and prodigies, or explained the doctrines of the Gospel by a subtle, quibbling, and mystical philosophy, he expounded the Scriptures by a critical and judicious comparison of parallel passages, replaced the barbarous terms and scholastic distinctions with plain and perspicuous language, and rendered his lectures at once interesting to the learned, and intelligible to the meanest capacity. At the same time he maintained an exemplary strictness and propriety in his life and conversation, which gained him an extraordinary degree of credit and authority among all ranks of people, and his fame drew to the university a

the younger, was margrave of Misnia and Thuringia, and possessed Dresden, Leipsig, and other cities, which are now the most important towns in Saxony. At this period, Frederic the Wise, son of Ernest, who, by his early protection of Luther, proved such a friend to the Reformation, was head of the Ernestine, and George, son of Albert, who was the enemy of Luther, and no less attached to the established church, was head of the Albertine line.

* He says, that he overheard the priests substitute the following expressions, instead of the prescribed form of consecration: "Panis es, et panis manebis. Vinum es, et vinum manebis."—Beausobre, tom. i. p. 45.

numerous concourse of students from all parts of Germany and Europe.

Thus led to affairs of religion by a singular concurrence of events, and by accident to the study of the Scriptures, Luther possessed a temper and acquirements which peculiarly fitted him for the character of a reformer. Without the fastidious nicety of refined taste and elegance, he was endowed with singular acuteness and logical dexterity, possessed profound and varied erudition; and his rude, though fervid eloquence, intermixed with the coarsest wit and the keenest raillery, was of that species which is best adapted to affect and influence a popular assembly. His Latin, though it did not rise to the purity of Erasmus, and his other learned contemporaries, was yet copious, free, and forcible, and he was perfectly master of his native tongue, and wrote it with such purity, that his works are still esteemed as models of style by the German critics. He was animated with an undaunted spirit, which raised him above all apprehension of danger, and possessed a perseverance which nothing could fatigue. He was at once haughty and condescending, jovial, affable, and candid in public; studious, sober, and self-denying in private; and he was endowed with that happy and intuitive sagacity which enabled him to suit his conduct and manners to the exigency of the moment, to lessen or avert danger by timely flexibility, or to bear down all obstacles by firmness and impetuosity. His merciless invectives and contemptous irony were proper weapons to repel the virulence and scurrility of his adversaries, and even the fire and arrogance of his temper, though blemishes in a refined age, were far from being detrimental in a controversy which roused all the passions of the human breast, and required the strongest exertions of fortitude and courage.

Such were the principles and conduct of this extraordinary man, when the enormous abuses arising from the sale of indulgences attracted his notice, and involved him in that memorable controversy with the church of Rome, for which he seems to have been trained and adapted by his temper, studies, occupation, and habits of life.

In the middle and latter end of the fifteenth century, the minds of men were prepared for innovations of every

kind, as well in the religious as in the civil system. The pride, the tyranny, and the exactions of the popes had rendered their authority odious to all who were not bound by interest and superstition, while the diffusion of knowledge had led men to question the authority and infallibility which the church had arrogated for so many centuries, and to despise the idle and fabulous legends which had been reverenced in ages of darkness and ignorance. The infamous profligacy of Alexander VI., the restless and domineering spirit of Julius II., and the licentious manners of the clergy, had diminished the respect which, from habit, had been long paid to the church, and for a considerable period every country of Europe had in vain clamoured for a reformation of abuses. This disposition was peculiarly prevalent in Germany, where the enormous possessions and numerous exemptions of the clergy threw the principal burdens of the state on the laity, and where the country was drained of its treasure by endless exactions, and by the appointment of foreigners to the richest benefices. These grievances were aggravated by the endless discussions between the emperors, the diet, and the popes; and at this particular period the public discontents were inflamed by the invectives of Maximilian himself, during his hostilities against the Roman see.

In this situation of affairs, a petty discussion, relative to the sale of indulgences, gave rise to the schism of a great part of Europe from the church of Rome.

Indulgences, in the early ages, were merely a diminution of ecclesiastical penances, at the recommendation of confessors or persons of peculiar sanctity. This licence soon degenerated into an abuse, and being made by the popes a pretext for obtaining money, was held forth as an exemption from the pains of purgatory, and afterwards as a plenary pardon for the commission of all sins whatsoever; and this unchristian doctrine was justified on a principle no less absurd than impious and immoral.*

* According to this doctrine, all the good works of the saints, besides those which were necessary towards their own justification, are deposited, together with the infinite merits of Jesus Christ, in one inexhaustible treasury, the keys of which were committed to St. Peter, and to his successors the popes, who may open it at pleasure, and by

With a view to replenish the exhausted treasury of the church, Leo X. had recourse to the sale of indulgences, an expedient which had been first invented by Urban II., and continued by his successors; Julius II. had bestowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter, at Rome, and Leo founded his grant on the same pretence. But, as this scandalous traffic had been warmly opposed in Germany, he endeavoured to secure its introduction by granting the sale, with a share of the profits, to Albert, who united the see of Magdeburgh with the electorate of Mentz, and extended his ecclesiastical jurisdiction over great part of the circle of Saxony. For the distribution the elector employed Tetzel, a Dominican friar of licentious morals, equally remarkable for his activity and for his noisy and popular eloquence; who, assisted by the monks of his order, executed the commission with great zeal and success, but without discretion or even decency. These indulgences were held forth as pardons for the most enormous crimes; they were publicly put up to sale, and even forced upon the people, and Tetzel and his coadjutors indulged themselves in drunkenness, and every other species of licentiousness, in

transferring a portion of this superabundant merit to particular persons for a sum of money, may convey to them either the pardon of their own sins, or a release for any one in whose happiness they are interested, from the pains of purgatory.

We subjoin the form of absolution used by Tetzel: —

"May our Lord Jesus Christ have mercy upon thee, and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority, by that of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the most holy pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner they have been incurred; and then from all thy sins, transgressions, and excesses, how enormous soever they may be, even from such as are reserved for the cognisance of the holy see; and as far as the keys of the holy church extend, I remit to thee all punishment which thou deservest in purgatory on their account; and I restore thee to the holy sacraments of the church, to the unity of the faithful, and to that innocence and purity which thou possessedst at baptism; so that when thou diest, the gates of punishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight shall be opened; and if thou shalt not die at present, this grace shall remain in full force when thou art at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—Seckend. Comment. lib. 1. p. 14.

which they squandered their share of the profits, and not unfrequently produced indulgences as stakes at the gaming table.

This scandalous traffic was not beheld with indifference by the people of Germany; it excited the animadversions of men distinguished for learning and piety; but particularly roused the indignation of Luther, who united to exemplary propriety of conduct a superior knowledge of the pure doctrines contained in the Gospel. Several of his penitents having alleged indulgences as an exemption from the penance which he had imposed, he refused to give them absolution. This conduct being reported to the profligate Dominican, he threatened those who doubted the power of the pope, and the efficacy of indulgences, with the pains of the inquisition, which was intrusted to his order, and caused preparations to be made at Jutterbuch, in the vicinity of Wittemberg, as if to burn his opponents in effigy.

Luther, provoked by these violent proceedings, appealed to the elector of Mentz to suspend the sale; and his remonstrance being disregarded, he exposed from the pulpit the fallacy of indulgences, inveighed against the licentious lives of the distributors, and, at last, on the 30th of September, 1517, affixed to a church door in Wittemberg, a thesis, or subject of disputation, containing ninety-five propositions, in which, without directly attacking indulgences, or the power of the Catholic church, he asserted their total inutility, and the necessity of faith, contrition, and repentance for obtaining pardon of sins. He concluded this challenge with condemning several propositions which he attributed to his adversaries, and inserting several contemptuous questions, which did not spare either the conduct or person of the pope.*

* "The manner of publishing indulgences had given occasion to the laity to start such questions as these, of little advantage to the pope; viz. Why the pope, out of charity, does not deliver souls out of purgatory, since he can deliver so great a number for a little money given for the building of a church? Why he suffers prayers and anniversaries for the dead, which are certainly delivered out of purgatory by indulgences? How, since the penitential canons are of no use, the canonical penance can be bought off by indulgences? Why the pope, who is richer than several Crœsus's, cannot build the church of St. Peter with his own

While this controversy was daily assuming a more serious aspect in Germany, it excited little sensation at Rome, as Leo had too much prudence to aggravate the dispute by persecution, or to give consequence to the tenets of a simple monk by implicating the authority of the church. Involved in political intrigues, or immersed in social pleasures, he despised the controversy as a monkish quarrel, and called the attack of Luther the dream of a drunken German, who, when sobered, would of his own accord retract his errors. But the ardour of Luther's adversaries would not suffer him to remain silent, nor the pope to continue indifferent to the dispute; and the most learned among the Dominicans entering the lists, provoked Luther to new attacks by virulent and inflammatory invectives. Leo, though urged by the remonstrances of the Dominicans, for a time preserved a prudent moderation: he endeavoured to suppress the controversy, and prevail on Luther to remain silent, and might have succeeded, had not his efforts been frustrated by the violence of the Catholic disputants. On the 7th of August, 1518, he issued a monitory, commanding Luther to repair to Rome within sixty days, and exculpate himself from the charge of heresy.

This controversy had likewise attracted the attention of Maximilian, who was naturally fond of bold and novel opinions, and anxious to reform the abuses and curb the encroachments of the church. Far from opposing the first attacks of Luther against indulgences, he was pleased with his spirit and acuteness, declared that he deserved protection, and treated his adversaries with contempt and ridicule. In the progress of the dispute he was, however, gradually drawn from this favourable opinion, and from conviction, from pique against Frederic of Saxony for opposing the election of his grandson, or from a desire of conciliating the pope, was induced to interfere in the controversy. In a letter to Leo X., dated August 5. 1519, he stigmatised the principles of Luther as heretical, and alluded to his numerous and powerful supporters. He urged the necessity

money, but does it at the expense of the poor? If it be said that the pope seeks rather the salvation of men's souls than their money, for what reason doth he suspend the ancient indulgences, which ought to be equally efficacious?"—Dupin's Eccl. History, vol. vi. p. 34., fol.

of terminating these rash disputes and captious arguments, by which the Christian church was scandalised, and offered to support and enforce the measures which the pope should think necessary to adopt.*

In consequence of this letter, Leo was induced to pursue more vigorous measures: he enjoined the cardinal of Gaeta, his legate at the diet of Augsburgh, to summon the heretic Luther in person; if he refused to recant, to detain him in custody; and, if he did not obey the summons, to denounce the sentence of excommunication against him and all his protectors or adherents. At the same time Leo wrote to the elector of Saxony, requesting him to withdraw his protection from Luther, and promising that if not found guilty, he should be liberated and absolved.

Luther was fortunately saved from this imminent danger no less by his prudence than firmness. Instead of openly refusing to obey the mandate of the pope, he requested to be heard before a competent jurisdiction in some part of Germany; and his petition being supported by the elector of Saxony and the university of Wittemberg, the pope empowered the cardinal of Gaeta to hear and determine the cause, and to receive Luther, if penitent, into the bosom of the church. Luther accordingly repaired to the cardinal at Augsburgh, where the diet was sitting, without a safe conduct, relying on the protection of the emperor and of the diet, and the support of the elector. But the diet being dissolved before his arrival, and the emperor and the elector of Saxony departed, his friends, who were perhaps not unacquainted with the purpose of the legate to detain him, did not suffer him to appear until they had received a safe conduct from the ministers of the emperor.

As was natural to be expected, from the characters, principles, and situation of the two persons, the conference produced no effect: the cardinal required a simple and im-

* This singular letter is printed in the works of Luther, vol. i., and given by Roscoe, in his Life and Pontificate of Leo X., vol. ii. p. 412. (Bohn's edition, as it is omitted in Bogue's.) Beausobre endeavours to disprove its authenticity, by urging that it contradicted the former sentiments of Maximilian; but he fails in his attempt, as a similar argument can hardly be applied to any man, much less to so changeable a prince as Maximilian.

mediate recantation; and Luther refused to recant till his opinions were proved erroneous. The cardinal, who was vain of his theological acquirements, was unwarily led into a dispute, till perceiving that he was baffled by the acuteness and superior knowledge of the reformer, he suddenly closed the argument, and again repeated his demand of an instant and unequivocal recantation * Luther, however, firmly persisted in his resolution, but acknowledged his regret for the disrespect with which he had sometimes treated the pope, and offered to obey the decrees of the church, in all points which were decided and ascertained, as far as his conscience would permit; and neither to write or preach on the subject of indulgences, if his adversaries were enjoined to the same silence. All these offers, however, being disregarded or rejected, he secretly withdrew from Augsburgh, leaving a public and solemn appeal, "From the pope ill informed to the pope better informed."

On his return to Wittemberg he was received with the greatest triumph by his adherents; and being assured of the protection of the elector of Saxony, who rejected all the importunities of the legate, on the 28th of November, 1519, he ventured to publish a protestation, declaring that he was apprehensive of being condemned unheard by the court of Rome, and therefore appealed from the pope to a general council, before which he was ready to defend his opinions, and to recant, if convicted of error.

But the ardent temper of the reformer led him to aggravate the danger which he apprehended from the vengeance of the pontiff; for the pope, either misled by his professions of obedience to the decrees of the church, or from a fear of inflaming the contest by persecution, did not fulminate the censures which his legate had threatened, but on the 3rd of November issued a bull, in which, without adverting to the name of Luther, he asserted the efficacy of indulgences,

* Although the legate treated Luther with great personal kindness and condescension, he was piqued at the superiority which he maintained in this disputation. "Ego nolo," he said to Staupitz, "amplius cum hac bestiâ loqui; habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo." Myconius, p. 33.; quoted in Heinrich, vol. iv. p. 812.

as well to the dead as to the living, and excommunicated all who should hold or teach a contrary opinion.

Nothing, however, except the interference of Providence would probably have long shielded Luther from the vengeance of the papal court, unless he had continued silent, or retracted his opinions. But at this critical moment the emperor Maximilian died before the papal bull could be presented to him, and the government devolved on the elector of Saxony, as vicar of the empire. The proceedings against the great reformer were thus suspended, and he was enabled to improve his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in silence and safety, to propagate his opinions, and, by study and meditation, to prepare himself for those hostilities against the authority of the pope, which he had proclaimed by his recent appeal.*

Notwithstanding the exhortatory letter of Maximilian to the pope, he seemed so little interested in the Lutheran controversy, that he dissolved the diet and quitted Augsburgh two days before the arrival of the Saxon reformer; and so rapid was the progress of that disorder which hurried him to the grave, that he had no opportunity, had he possessed the inclination, to interfere in the subsequent discussion. Although no more than fifty-nine, he had long felt his health declining, and for the last four years he never travelled without a coffin †, which he was occasionally

* Several Protestant authors have urged that the appeal of Luther was the consequence of the papal bull; and the Catholics on the other side assert, that the papal bull was the consequence of the appeal. But a simple reference to the dates, and an examination of the contents of the two documents, will plainly prove that neither was the consequence of the other. The bull being dated Nov. 5., and the appeal Nov. 28., the interval of time was too short, considering the distance from Rome to Wittemberg, for a mutual communication; in the bull no mention is made of Luther, and yet Luther, in his appeal, justifies himself against a supposed condemnation unheard. — See Maimbourg; Seckendorf; Father Paul; and Maclaine's Translation of Mosheim's Ecc. Hist. vol. iii. p. 310. Also, Robertson's History of Charles V.; and particularly Roscoe's Life of Leo, who has ably cleared up this and many other controverted points, and given the bull and appeal.

† Fugger mentions a singular anecdote on this subject. While a palace was erecting for him at Innspruck, he expressed his displeasure at an error of the builder, and said to one of his attendants, "These men do not please me, I will order a more suitable house to be built."

heard to apostrophise. Soon after his arrival at Innspruck, where he purposed to regulate the succession to his hereditary dominions, he was seized with a slight fever, which he hoped to remove by exercise and change of air. He accordingly descended the Inn, disembarked at Passau, and with a view to dissipate his melancholy, or to improve his health, proceeded to Wels in Upper Austria, where he amused himself with his favourite diversion of hawking and hunting. But the fatigues of the chase aggravated his complaint, and the immoderate use of melons brought on a dysentery. Finding himself sinking under his disease, he sent for a Carthusian friar from the Brisgau. During the day he transacted business with his ministers, and at night, when he could not sleep, amused himself with listening to the recital of Austrian history, in which he always greatly delighted. Being recommended by his physicians to fulfil the last duties of a christian, he replied, "I have long done so, or it would now be too late." On the arrival of the friar, he sat up in his bed, received him with the most joyful expressions and gestures, and said to the bystanders, "this man will show me the way to heaven." After much pious conversation, during which he would not suffer himself to be called emperor, but simply Maximilian, he received the holy sacrament according to the ordinances of the church. He then summoned his ministers, and executed his testament. He ordered that all the officers of state and magistrates should continue to exercise their functions, until the arrival of one of his grandsons. From a principle of extreme modesty, which he carried so far, that he never put on or took off his shirt before any person, he called a short time before his death for clean linen, and strictly forbade that it should be changed. He ordered the hair of his head to be cut off, and his teeth to be pulled out, broken, and publicly burnt in the chapel of his court. As a lesson of mortality, his body was to be exposed to view for a whole day, then to be

He accordingly sent for a joiner, and ordered an oak coffin to be prepared, with a shroud, and all the requisites of a funeral. He caused it to be inclosed in a box, of which he kept the key, and carried it with him in all his journeys. Till his death, his attendants imagined that this box contained treasure.

inclosed in a sack filled with quick lime, covered with white silk and damask; to be placed in the coffin already prepared for its reception, and to be interred in the church of the palace at Neustadt, under the altar of St. George, in such a situation, that the officiating priests might tread upon his head and heart. He expressed his hope, that by these means, his sinful body, after the departure of his soul, would be dishonoured and humiliated before the whole world. Having finished this business, he stretched out his hand to the bystanders, and gave them his benediction. As they were unable to conceal their emotions, and burst into tears, he said, "Why do you weep, because you see a mortal die? Such tears as these rather become women than men." To the prayers of the Carthusian he made audible responses, and when his voice failed, gave signs of his faith with his gestures. He died at three o'clock in the morning, on the 11th of January, 1519, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Of all the successors of Rhodolph of Hapsburgh, Maximilian is the most remarkable for his personal and mental qualifications. He was not above the middle size, but his limbs were muscular and well-proportioned, and he possessed that peculiar conformation of body which unites the greatest strength with the greatest activity. To adopt the description of the Austrian biographer*, his countenance was manly and animated, his eyes blue, his cheeks full and round, his nose aquiline, his mouth small and handsome, and his chin raised and pointed; his gait and gesture were graceful and majestic; his tone of voice melodious, and his manners dignified, amiable, frank, and conciliating. Though temperate and sober, he possessed a convivial disposition, and inherited a considerable portion of that playful raillery and facetiousness, for which the great founder of his house was so remarkable.

No prince ever displayed more unpromising appearances in his infancy and youth, or was ever more successful in conquering the disadvantages of nature and education. Till the tenth year of his age, the indistinctness of his articulation procured him the appellation of the Dumb Prince; and yet this infirmity was afterwards so entirely removed, that he commanded the admiration of all by his

* Fugger, p. 1367.

consummate eloquence, and by the extraordinary facility with which he spoke the Latin, French, German, Italian, and several other languages. He received the early part of his education under Peter Engelbert, a man of piety, but a pedant, who disgusted his royal pupil by his dry and tedious manner of communicating instruction. Yet Maximilian, thus circumstanced in his early years, when habits are generally formed which continue through life, became, by his own industry and application, one of the most learned and accomplished princes of the age. He was remarkable for his multifarious knowledge in the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and promoted the cultivation of literature by his patronage and example.

His amusements and acquirements evinced his native intrepidity and contempt of danger; his chief delight was the perilous occupation of hunting the chamois; in bodily exercises he far surpassed his contemporaries, and peculiarly excelled in all the feats of the tournament. An anecdote, preserved by Fugger, equally displays his personal prowess and address in arms, and proves that he was animated by that chivalrous point of honour, which distinguished the knights of romance. Being at Worms, in 1495, where he presided at his first diet, Claude de Batre, a French knight, highly celebrated for his skill and courage, placed a shield under the window of his apartment, and sent a herald throughout the city, defying the Germans to tilt with the lance in single combat. This challenge was not accepted, till Maximilian, eager to wipe away the reproach cast on his countrymen, ordered a herald to hang his shield, bearing the arms of Austria and Burgundy, near that of the Frenchman, and to proclaim that a German accepted the challenge. On the day appointed for the combat, the two knights appeared in the field on horseback, in complete armour. Neither spoke a single word, and at the third blast of the trumpet, the combatants couched their lances, and charged each other. Their lances being shivered, each drew his sword, and after much skirmishing, the emperor received a stroke which pierced his cuirass, and wounded him in the bosom. Roused with pain and indignation he redoubled his efforts, and repeated his blows with such force and effect, that he compelled de Batre

to yield the victory. In the midst of the applauses, which resounded from all quarters, the victorious knight drew up his vizor, and the spectators were equally surprised and gratified, on discovering that the person who had triumphantly asserted the honour of their country was the emperor himself.

Nor did he confine this romantic spirit of chivalry to the parade of the tournament; for during the wars against France, and in Guelderland, he more than once sent a trumpeter to the hostile camp, defying any knight to single combat, and twice on these occasions killed his antagonist.

No prince of his age was more distinguished for those qualities and acquirements, which form the character of a warrior, than Maximilian. His constitution was capable of supporting all the changes and severities of the seasons; he was patient of fatigue, active, and enterprising even to rashness, ardent for glory, and possessed a mind superior to dangers and difficulties. He surpassed his contemporaries in all military exercises, and was no less intimately acquainted with the theory than with the practice of war. He improved the foundry of cannon, the construction of fire-arms, and the tempering of defensive armour; made various discoveries in pyrotechny, and was master of all the science of gunnery and fortification known in his times. He first introduced into his dominions a standing army, facilitating the evolutions and discipline of his forces by dividing them into companies, troops, and regiments, and armed them with a new species of lance, which came into general use, and obtained for the German infantry the name of lantzknechte or lansquenets.

But all his brilliant and amiable qualities were counteracted by failings and defects equally great. His sanguine temper and ardent imagination hurried him into enterprises far above his strength and means, which he formed without combination and foresight, pursued without decision and perseverance, and abandoned with equal levity and versatility. A still greater failing in a sovereign, was his total neglect of economy. To his father, who endeavoured to correct this disposition, he replied, "I am not the king of gold, but of men;" a sentiment, which, though it proclaimed a liberal mind, has been more admired than it

deserved. As he advanced in years, and became free of control, this contempt of riches degenerated into thoughtless prodigality. Although during the whole course of his reign he was grasping money from all quarters, was pensioned and subsidised by every sovereign and state of Europe who had treasures to bestow, he was always necessitous, always greedy, reduced to the most dishonourable and humiliating expedients; and, at the commencement of every new war, or the conclusion of every peace, his name scarcely ever appears without being coupled with a gratification in *money*, which rendered his poverty proverbial, and entailed on him the reproachful epithet of Maximilian the *Moneyless*.

With this disposition he possessed the pardonable vanity of wishing to transmit his family, name, and achievements to posterity; but which, like his other pursuits, he carried to excess. He wrote numerous treatises on various branches of human knowledge; on religion, morality, the military art, architecture, his own inventions, and even on hunting, hawking, gardening, and cookery. He sent throughout Germany persons of learning to search the archives of convents and abbeys*, to collect genealogies of his ancestors, and to examine the repositories of the dead for monumental inscriptions. From these materials Manlius, one of his secretaries, compiled a history of his family, which Maximilian was accustomed to peruse, and which, almost in his dying moments, contributed to his amusement and consolation. After the manner of the ancients, his table was constantly attended by literati, whose office was to collect his sayings, and record his apophthegms; and he was accustomed to dictate to his secretaries† accounts of his life and

* During these researches was found the ancient Itinerary of the Roman empire, known under the denomination of the Tables of Peutinger, which has been of considerable use in elucidating ancient geography. It is now preserved in the imperial library at Vienna. For an engraving and explanation of this antiquity, see Horsley's Britannia Romana. It is also given in Bertius's edition of Ptolemy, folio, 1618, and has been published separately, first by Velser in 1591, and since by Scheyt, Vienna, 1743, and others.

† Fugger has given a whimsical plate, in which Maximilian is seated on his throne, dictating to a secretary, who is kneeling at the bottom of the flight of steps; and another allegorically representing his multifarious dangers and escapes. His hero appears standing in

actions, and descriptions of his numerous adventures and hair-breadth escapes.* To these circumstances we owe a

the midst of a circle of swords, the points of which converge to the centre; and around are placed figures denoting the different dangers from which he had escaped.

* Among these numerous works which relate to the life and actions of Maximilian, it is difficult to discriminate those which were written by himself; but he may, in a certain degree, be considered as the author of all, for they were partly dictated or written by him, partly augmented or corrected by his hand, and partly collected from his confidential conversations.

A Life of the emperors Frederic and Maximilian, in German, was printed at Tubingen, in 1721, and is the composition of his private secretary, Grunbeck.

The same person wrote also a Latin commentary of the Life of Maximilian, from 1476 to 1515, which is not printed. This work is probably the whole, or comprises a part of the commentary of his life, which Maximilian is said to have dictated to his secretary during an excursion on the lake of Constance.

Grunbeck informs us that he copied three works, or essays, of Maximilian, On the Nature of Animals; A Collection of Proverbs and Maxims; and a Genealogical Chronicle of the Austrian Family.

Melchior Pfintzinck, another of his secretaries, published in German rhyme, during his life, an account of his numerous adventures and escapes, and a description of his feats of knighthood, under the title of "The Dangers, and part of the History, of the celebrated, highly renowned, and warlike hero and knight TEURDANNCKH." This singular poem was illustrated with woodcuts, prepared by Maximilian, and a part of the original copy is preserved in his own hand-writing in the imperial library at Vienna.

Another secretary, Mark Treitzsaurwein, who was originally his writing master, has given a no less singular book, called the WEISS KUNIG, containing a brief abstract of the birth, studies, and most remarkable actions of Maximilian, accompanied by a series of no less than 237 woodcuts. It was probably dictated by Maximilian, and the prints were prepared by his order; but his death preventing the impression, it was not published till 1775, at Vienna.

Other writings of Maximilian, which are mostly lost, are, An Account of his Discoveries in the Art of War, and in Gunnery; A Description of One hundred and forty of his Pleasure-gardens in Austria; on Heraldry; the Management of Horses, Armoury, Hunting, Hawking, Cookery; on Wines, Fishing, Gardening, Architecture, and Morality.

The number and variety of these works show the variety of his pursuits and the versatility of his talents, and prove that he was desirous of acquiring knowledge, though that knowledge must have been superficial.

Besides the authorities above mentioned, and the general histories

wonderfully minute account of the character, acquirements, and adventures of Maximilian; but to these circumstances we must likewise attribute that air and colouring of romance which is cast over his whole history, and which exhibits him as a being endowed with supernatural faculties, and moving in a superior sphere, or like the heroes which figure in eastern fable, and the annals of chivalry. Thus he is said to have assaulted lions in their cages, and forced them to repress their native ferocity; he fell from towers unhurt; he escaped from shipwreck, and from fire, and, when lost amid the rocks and precipices of the Tyrol, whither he had penetrated in his favourite occupation of hunting the chamois, and on the point of perishing with hunger and fatigue, he is extricated by an angel in the shape of a peasant boy.

But, notwithstanding all the exaggerations of flattery, or the glosses of self-love, Maximilian was doubtless extraordinary, both as a man and a prince; and though too much depreciated by modern historians*, who seem only to have discerned his failings, his misfortunes, and his wants, he rose superior to his age, by multifarious endowments of body and mind, and was the wonder, the boast, and the envy of his contemporaries. To conclude, had his means been equal to his abilities, or had his enterprising spirit, and his active, acute, and versatile mind been more under the guidance of judgment and discretion, his reign would

which are constantly quoted, we have received great assistance in describing the reign of Maximilian from Gerard de Roo and Fugger, particularly the latter, whose simple narrative and indefatigable industry have been of the greatest service, and whom we quit with regret, as his history terminates with the reign of Maximilian. Fugger, p. 1377-1385.; Gebhaerdi Geneal. Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 314-316.; Pinacotheca Austriaca, part ii.; Barre, tom. viii. p. 1.; Heiss Hist. de l'Empire, liv. iii.; Struvius, p. 924-985; Pfeffinger's Vitriarius, tom. i. p. 709-721; Schmidt, b. vii.; Heinrich, iv.; Pfeffel Regne de Maximilian I.

* Both Robertson and Hume have treated the character of Maximilian with unmerited contempt; and Mr. Roscoe, whose accuracy and candour, in most instances, are justly commendable, misled by these authorities, by the prejudices of the Italian historians, and by the fluctuation of his conduct in the Italian affairs, has depicted him without a single virtue or good quality, and his character as a compound of vanity, imbecility, and bigotry.

have formed one of the most brilliant periods in Austrian history, and he would have been deservedly held up as the greatest sovereign of his time.

Maximilian was twice married; first, to Mary of Burgundy, and secondly, to Bianca Maria, daughter of Galeas Sforza, duke of Milan.

Mary was daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, by Isabella of Bourbon. She was not only the richest, but the most beautiful, amiable, and sensible princess of the age; she was a great proficient in music, and loved and protected the fine arts. She died on the 28th of March, 1482, in the twenty-fifth year of her age, of a bruise in her leg, occasioned by a fall from her horse, which from motives of delicacy she concealed. Her husband was so dotingly fond of her, and so devoted to her memory, that he scarcely ever mentioned her name without tears.

The second wife of Maximilian, Bianca Maria, daughter of Galeas Sforza, duke of Milan, by Bona, princess of Savoy, was born on the 5th of April, 1472. Notwithstanding her extreme beauty and splendid talents, she never gained the affections of her husband, who was disgusted with the violence of her temper; but after passing several years in domestic broils, she died of chagrin in 1511, at the age of thirty-nine, without issue.*

* A manuscript character of Bianca Maria is preserved in a monastery at Ratisbon, containing a high panegyric on her mental and personal accomplishments, particularly needle-work, in which she is said to have surpassed every woman of her age. — Fragmentum Historicum de Bianca Maria Maximiliani Conjuge. Pez. tom. ii. p. 556.

Although chagrin for the neglect of her husband, and the violence of her temper are said to have affected her health, yet Cuspinianus and Fugger (p. 1277.) attribute her death to a weak digestion and debility, arising from a constant habit of eating snails, which formed her favourite diet.

Snails, though in England they cannot be mentioned as an article of food, without exciting disgust, are esteemed in many places abroad a delicacy, even for the tables of the great. In Paris they are sold in the market; in Italy they are much esteemed; but at Vienna they are attended and fatted for the table with the same care as our poultry. During my residence in that capital, I frequently saw them served among the choicest dishes; and in the gardens of prince Esterhazy, in Hungary, I saw, if I may use the term, a *snailery*, or plot of ground

By his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian had a son, Philip, and a daughter, Margaret.

Margaret, born in 1480, was a princess of great beauty, spirit, and understanding. She was first affianced to Charles, dauphin of France, and was afterwards betrothed to John, only son of Ferdinand of Arragon and Isabella. During her passage by sea from Flushing to Spain, the fleet was overtaken by a tempest, and nearly wrecked on the coast of England. In the midst of her extreme danger, the undaunted princess composed a gay couplet, alluding to her double marriage, which she enveloped in cloth with her jewels, and fastened round her arm : —

> " Ci git Margot la gente demoiselle,
> Qu'eut deux maris, et si mourut pucelle."

The cessation of the storm, however, delivered her from this fate. After taking refuge at Southampton, she continued her voyage to Spain, and was married. Her husband, John, dying, she espoused, in 1501, Philibert duke of Savoy ; on his death, in 1504, retired into Germany, and, although only in the twenty-fourth year of her age, declined repeated offers of marriage. On the death of her brother Philip, Maximilian appointed her governess of the Netherlands, in which office she was confirmed by Charles when he came of age. She filled her high station until her death with great reputation for wisdom and abilities, and was equally trusted by her father Maximilian, and by her nephew Charles. In the name of Maximilian she concluded the league of Cambray, and, invested with full powers by Charles, she negotiated the peace of Cambray with Louisa, mother of Francis I., which is called from this circumstance *La Paix des Dames*. She died in 1530, in the fiftieth year of her age, no less regretted by Charles V., than by the natives of the Low Countries, whose

inclosed with planks, and planted with the succulent herbs and shrubs. To prevent their escape, a green cloth was suspended from the top of the paling, which did not quite reach the ground, and was kept by a small ledge from touching the boards. The snails thus acquire a degree of size and plumpness, which would instantly pall the appetite of an English ploughman, though they are swallowed with rapture by the epicures of Vienna.

affections she had conciliated by her mildness, affability, and condescension.

Philip, son of Maximilian, was born on the 21st June, 1478, and received his name from his maternal grandfather, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy. He was distinguished for the beauty of his person, and endowed with all the brilliant qualities of a sovereign; he was gay, affable, frank, generous, and condescending; but he possessed little solidity of character, was averse to business and restraint, and absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure. In 1494, he assumed the reins of government in the Low Countries, and in October, 1496, solemnised his nuptials with the infanta Joanna of Spain. After the death of his mother-in-law, Isabella, he obtained the regency of Castile, which he exercised with great indiscretion till his death, on the 25th September, 1506, at Burgos.

His wife Joanna, who conveyed the Spanish monarchy to the Austrian family, was born November 6th, 1479. She possessed neither beauty nor attractions; and her want of personal charms was not compensated by mental endowments. Uniting a weak intellect with strong feelings and ardent passions, she doted on her husband, and by his numerous infidelities and neglect was gradually reduced to a state of mental imbecility. Her disorder was increased by his death; and after reluctantly suffering the corpse to be buried, she caused it to be removed from the sepulchre, embalmed, and dressed in splendid apparel. Having heard a legendary tale of a king, who revived after being dead fourteen years, she watched the body with unwearied attention, and conveyed it with her wherever she went, waiting for the moment of its revival. With the same jealousy by which she had been actuated when he was alive, she would not suffer her female attendants to approach the corpse, and even when she was delivered of the princess Catherine, refused to admit a midwife into her apartment. Soon after her father resumed the regency, she retired with her infant daughter to Tordesillas, and gave new and continual proofs of increased insanity. Notwithstanding her incapacity, she was left by her father heiress of the dominions of Arragon; and became afterwards the puppet of the party who opposed the measures of Charles V. She

was seized and confined on the defeat of the junto, but her name was associated with that of Charles in all public acts, till her death, which happened in April, 1455, the very year of his abdication.

The children of Philip and Joanna were Charles and Ferdinand, who formed the German and Spanish lines of the house of Austria, besides four daughters. Eleonora, the eldest, espoused, first, in 1519, Emanuel, king of Portugal; and secondly, in 1530, Francis I., king of France, and died in 1558. The second daughter, Isabella, married Christian II., king of Denmark, and, after his deposition, behaved to him with unabated tenderness and affection, notwithstanding his numerous infidelities and cruel treatment. She was born in 1501, and died in 1526. The third daughter, Maria, espoused Louis, king of Hungary, and, on his death, in 1526, made a vow never to re-marry, which she faithfully kept. On the death of her aunt Margaret, she was appointed by her brother Charles governess of the Low Countries, and, accompanying him into Spain, after his abdication, died at Valladolid in 1558. Catherine, the fourth daughter, espoused John, prince, and afterwards king of Portugal, son of Emanuel by her sister Eleonora. On the death of her husband she became regent for her grandson, Sebastian, posthumous son of her son John, by Joanna, daughter of her brother Charles V.

Maximilian had also fourteen natural children by different mistresses; but of this extraordinary number none ever became remarkable.

Although Maximilian did not illustrate his name and reign by conquest, or even considerable acquisitions by the sword, he may justly be considered as the second founder of the house of Austria. By his own marriage with the princess Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, he secured the inheritance of the house of Burgundy; by the marriage of Philip with Johanna he brought into his family the succession of the Spanish monarchy, and by the intermarriage of his grandson, the archduke Ferdinand, with Anne, daughter of Ladislaus, he entailed on his posterity the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. These and other vast acquisitions which the house of Austria obtained by marriage and not by arms, gave birth to a sarcastic epi-

gram which has been attributed, though perhaps erroneously, to Matthias Corvinus, the celebrated king of Hungary: —

> "Bella gerant alii tu felix Austria *nube*
> Nam quæ MARS aliis, dat tibi Regna VENUS."

CHAP. XXVI.—CHARLES V.—1518–1521.

CHARLES, grandson and successor of Maximilian in the throne of the empire, was born at Ghent, on the 24th of February, 1500, and on the death of his father, Philip, was placed under the care of his aunts, Margaret of Austria, and Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV., king of England, widow of Charles the Bold, two of the most accomplished princesses in Europe. William de Croy, Lord of Chevres, his governor, and Adrian, of Utrecht, his preceptor, superintended his education; the one versed in all the arts and accomplishments of a courtier, and possessing those talents which eminently fitted him for his important office; the other a learned pedant of pure and irreproachable morals, profoundly skilled in the scholastic and metaphysical theology of the age, to which he had directed his studies, and to which he owed his rise, but without taste or genius, and ill qualified to form the mind of a young prince and to render science agreeable. Hence Charles conceived an early and unconquerable aversion for the learned languages, and his disgust was purposely encouraged by Chevres. The governor, however, did not suffer the talents of his royal pupil to rust in idleness, but gave him an education which better fitted him to become a great than a learned sovereign. He encouraged his partiality for military exercises, instructed him in the modern tongues and the history of Europe, explained to him the interests of the countries over which he was called to rule, taught him the arts of government, and accustomed him to assist at the deliberations of his ministers, and to weigh their opinions.

With such an education, Charles, at the age of sixteen, assumed the direction of affairs in the Low Countries. In the following year, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic

calling him to the succession of Spain, he gave proofs of that inflexible and decisive spirit which marked his reign. Although Joanna, by the laws of Castile and Arragon, as well as by the testaments of Isabella and Ferdinand, was undisputed sovereign, he assumed the title of king, in opposition to all the remonstrances of the Spanish ministers, and appointed his preceptor, Adrian, regent of Castile, instead of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes, to whom the government had been intrusted by Ferdinand.

Fortunately the patriotism and integrity of Ximenes prevented the ill effects which might have resulted from the hasty conduct of the young monarch. Aware that the natives were greatly attached to the archduke Ferdinand, who had been educated in Spain, he obtained possession of his person, and watched his conduct with the most scrupulous attention; he compelled the nobles of Castile to acknowledge Charles as their king; and although he respected his appointment, by allowing Adrian a nominal share in the regency, he did not relinquish the helm of state. By firm and vigorous measures he prevented the French from re-conquering Navarre, curbed the efforts of the disaffected nobles, and exhorted his sovereign to repair to Spain, and allay the rising ferment by his presence.

Charles, anxious to assume the reins of government, deserted the league of Cambray, and concluded, on the 13th of August, 1516, the treaty of Noyon with Francis I., by which he secured a free passage into Spain, and prevented the interference of France in the affairs of that country; but he was detained in the Netherlands, by various obstacles, until the middle of the ensuing year. He then embarked at Middleburgh, accompanied by most of his Flemish counsellors, and, after a stormy passage, landed at Villa Viciosa, in the province of Asturias. He commenced his administration by ungratefully dismissing the aged Ximenes, whose loyalty and integrity deserved a better reward; and by removing the governor and preceptor of Ferdinand, whom he suspected of stimulating his ambition. Nor did his subsequent measures indicate that address and policy which he afterwards displayed; for he alienated his new subjects by a marked partiality to his Flemish ministers, whom he raised to the highest stations in church and state,

and increased the odium derived from their venality and corruption, by a contemptuous disregard of Spanish customs and privileges.

In consequence of these proceedings, the accession of Charles bore an inauspicious appearance; the short time of his first residence in Spain was agitated by incessant commotions; and he did not, without great difficulty, obtain a public recognition of his title as king at Saragoza, by the cortes of Arragon, and by those of Castile, at Madrid. But even these concessions were attended with the stipulation, that the name of Joanna, as queen, should appear first in all public acts, and that, if she recovered her understanding, she should again be allowed to resume the administration of affairs. He had no less difficulty in obtaining the acknowledgment of the states of Catalonia, and his inauguration did not take place till the commencement of 1519.*

Charles had scarcely received the homage of his subjects, and assumed the administration, before the death of Maximilian opened to him the prospect of the imperial crown. Although his grandfather had been disappointed in his endeavours to procure the reversion of that dignity, he had obtained a written promise of support from four of the electors, and was secure of the Bohemian vote, which, in consequence of the minority of the sovereign, was vested in his uncle, Sigismond, king of Poland, as his guardian, or in the Bohemian plenipotentiaries deputed by the states. But affairs were now changed, as the vacancy of the throne opened a field to various competitors, particularly to the sovereigns of France and England, who had no prospect of being elected to the dignity of king of the Romans during the life of the emperor. Henry VIII., indeed, soon withdrew his pretensions; but Francis pursued his object with all the ardour and spirit of a young and ambitious monarch. Leo X. publicly affected to favour Francis; but, as he was apprehensive of seeing the vacant throne filled by either of the rival sovereigns, one of whom was possessor of Naples, and the other of Milan, he secretly urged the electors to choose an emperor from their own body. This advice coinciding with the views and interests of the electoral college,

* Ferreras, tom. viii. p. 428—470.

who were all desirous to have an equal rather than a master, they offered the crown to Frederic of Saxony, whose virtues and abilities had justly procured him the appellation of The Wise. He, however, magnanimously declined the proffered dignity, and earnestly exhorted them to give the preference to Charles, as a sovereign of German extraction, descended fron a line of emperors, and by his power and connections capable of maintaining public tranquillity, and resisting the arms of the Turks. The exhortations and influence of Frederic, assisted by the presents and intrigues of the Spanish plenipotentiaries, decided the wavering inclinations of the electoral body ; and, after an interregnum of almost six months, Charles was, on the 28th of June, 1519, unanimously raised to the imperial throne. He received the news of his election at Barcelona, where he was still detained by the deliberations of the Catalonian cortes, without any visible symptoms of youthful exultation, but rather with the gravity and reflection characteristic of his temper, and natural to his situation.

The intelligence increased the clamours of his Spanish subjects, who were apprehensive lest they should be deprived of the presence of their monarch, and subjected to the interested government of a viceroy ; accordingly petitions and remonstrances poured in from all quarters, urging him not to accept a dignity so fatal to the interests and independence of Spain. Charles, however, remained unshaken ; and when the elector palatine arrived, at the head of a solemn embassy, with the deed of election, he accepted the proffered dignity, and assumed the title of majesty*, which had been immemorially borne by the em-

* The elegant historian of Charles V. describes the assumption of this title as a proof of pride and exultation, and asserts that, before his time, *all* the monarchs of Europe were satisfied with the title of *highness* or *grace ;* whereas, on the contrary, the title of majesty was borne by *all* the emperors from Honorius and Theodosius down to Maximilian : nor was it appropriated to the emperors alone, even before the time of Charles V. ; for it was used by different kings of France, Arragon, Castile, and Sicily, among whom we distinguish Francis I. in 1517, in a bull of Leo X. and Ferdinand and Isabella in 1493. The reader who is desirous of investigating this subject will find ample information in Pfeffinger's Vitriarius, art. de Titulo Majestatis, tom. i. p. 382., et seq.

perors, and announced his intention of repairing speedily to Germany.

He was detained for some time in Spain by the rising commotions, and still more by the want of money to defray the expenses of his journey and coronation. As he had already obtained larger grants from the cortes than any preceding sovereign, the demand of so new and unpopular a contribution greatly aggravated the national disaffection. To oppose one faction by another, and to thwart the nobles from whom he had experienced the greatest opposition, Charles patronised an armed association, which had been formed under the title of Hermadad, or brotherhood, and thus sowed the seeds of future commotions. By these means, however, he provided a remedy for his present necessities; but the grant was accompanied with the bitterest complaints against many of his unpopular acts, and a strong remonstrance against his intended departure; tumults also broke out in several places, particularly at Toledo and Valladolid, where the Flemish counsellors, and even the king himself, escaped with difficulty from the fury of the populace.

Disregarding these threatening appearances, Charles persisted in his resolution of repairing to Germany. He conferred the viceroyalties of Arragon and Valencia on two grandees of high character and extensive influence; but he diminished the good effect of this popular promotion by again intrusting the regency of Castile to Adrian, for whom he had procured the dignity of cardinal. He then hastened his embarkation, and by such an abrupt departure in quest of an uncertain and elective dignity, endangered the loss of a certain and hereditary crown. In his way to the Low Countries he landed at Dover, under the pretence of a visit to his aunt, queen Catherine, but in reality for the purpose of holding an interview with Henry VIII., who was then preparing for the memorable meeting with Francis I., at Ardres. In his short stay of four days he conciliated the esteem of Henry; but he applied with still more effect to his all-powerful minister Wolsey, and gained him by the promise of a considerable pension, and the offer of assisting to procure him the papal tiara. He then passed over to the Netherlands, and after assuming the adminis-

tration of affairs in Germany, and terminating the vicariate, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned on the 23d of October, 1520, with unusual pomp and magnificence.

This election was accompanied with a new and essential alteration in the constitution of the empire. Hitherto a general and verbal promise to confirm the Germanic privileges had been deemed a sufficient security; but as the enormous power and vast possessions of the new emperor rendered him the object of greater jealousy and alarm than his predecessors, the electors digested into a formal deed or capitulation all their laws, customs, and privileges, which the ambassadors of Charles signed before his election, and which he himself ratified before his coronation; and this example has been followed by his successors.

It consisted of thirty-six articles, partly relating to the Germanic body in general, and partly to the electors and states in particular. Of those relating to the Germanic body in general, the most prominent were, not to confer the escheated fiefs, but to re-unite and consolidate them, for the benefit of the emperor and empire; not to intrust the charges of the empire to any but Germans; not to grant dispensations of the common law; to use the German language in the proceedings of the chancery; and to put no one arbitrarily to the ban, who had not been previously condemned by the diet or imperial chamber. He was to maintain the Germanic body in the exercise of its legislative powers, in its right of declaring war and making peace, of passing laws on commerce and coinage, of regulating the contingents, imposing and directing the perception of ordinary contributions, of establishing and superintending the superior tribunals, and of judging the personal causes of the states. Finally, he promised not to cite the members of the Germanic body before any tribunal except those of the empire, and to maintain them in their legitimate privileges of territorial sovereignty. The articles which regarded the electors were of the utmost importance, because they confirmed the rights which had been long contested with the emperors. Charles engaged not to prevent them from holding assemblies and forming unions among themselves; to obtain their consent before he entered into alliances with

foreign states, or even with other provinces of the empire; not to impose new or increase the ancient tolls; and also, not to declare war by his own authority in the name of the empire, or levy extraordinary contributions, even if circumstances would not allow him to convoke a general diet. Besides these concessions, he promised not to make any attempt to render the imperial crown hereditary in his family, and to re-establish the council of regency, in conformity with the advice of the electors and great princes of the empire.*

On the 6th of January, 1521, Charles assembled his first diet at Worms, where he presided in person. At his proposition the states passed regulations to terminate the troubles which had already arisen during the short interval of the interregnum, and to prevent the revival of similar disorders. The ban of the empire was published against the dukes of Wirtemberg and Brunswick†, and the bishops of Hildesheim and Minden, who had broken the public peace during the interregnum, and refused to obey the citation of the emperor, and submit their disputes to arbitration. The imperial chamber was re-established in all its authority, and the public peace again promulgated, and enforced by new penalties.

In order to direct the affairs of the empire during the absence of Charles, a council of regency was established, on a footing more advantageous to the imperial prerogatives than that which had been instituted during the reign of Maximilian. It was to consist of a lieutenant-general, appointed by the emperor, and twenty-two assessors, of whom eighteen were nominated by the states, and four by Charles,

* For the substance of this celebrated capitulation see Goldastus Reichsatzungen, vol. i. p. 181.; Puetter's Development, b. v. c. 1.; Schmidt, b. viii. c. 2.; Pfeffel, tom. ii. p. 138.

† The duke of Wirtemberg being expelled from his dominions by the Suabian league, Charles obtained his duchy by indemnifying the members of the league for their expenses, and conferred it on his brother Ferdinand. It was afterwards restored, by Ferdinand, to the family. The war, however, still continued between the dukes of Brunswick and the bishop of Hildesheim till May, 1523, when the bishop ceded a considerable part of his territories to the family of Brunswick, but these territories were afterwards restored to the see. — Puetter's Development, vol. i. p. 398.

as possessor of the circles of Burgundy and Austria. Unlike the former, this council was not stationary, but could be convoked by the emperor to any place between Augsburgh and Cologne. It could not conclude any alliance with foreign powers, nor confer the greater fiefs; and the members, instead of taking an oath to the emperor and empire, swore fidelity only to the emperor.

At the same time an aid of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse was granted, to accompany the emperor in his expedition to Rome; but the diet endeavoured to prevent him from interfering, as Maximilian had done, in the affairs of Italy, by stipulating that these troops were only to be employed as an escort, and not for the purpose of aggression.

Chap. XXVII.—1519–1522.

Since the reign of Charlemagne, no sovereign united such extensive territories and possessed such influence as Charles V., nor seemed more likely to realise the phantom of universal monarchy, which has never failed to fill the imagination of ambitious, or excite the apprehensions of weak and timid princes.

He inherited the vast domains of the Spanish monarchy, including Naples and Sicily, and the recently discovered territories in the new world, and the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, with Franche Comté and Artois, at that time the richest, most populous, and most flourishing country in Europe. In conjunction with his brother, Ferdinand, he also succeeded to the whole possessions of the house of Austria. To these he united the highest dignity in Europe, and although the crown of the empire had proved a burden to weak sovereigns, in his powerful hands it became a formidable engine for territorial acquisitions, in consequence of numerous claims on all the surrounding districts, its extensive jurisdiction, and the force which the influence of so powerful a prince could still draw from the vast and heterogenous mass of the Germanic body.

Sovereign of such extensive territories, endowed with

the most eminent talents, civil and military, and possessing almost universal influence by his connections and alliances, Charles seemed born to domineer over Europe; nor could the union of the princes and states of Germany have secured their liberties, had not his power been weakened by the separation of the Austrian and Spanish dominions, by his wars with France and the Turks, and still more circumscribed by the reformation in religion, which was commenced and perfected by the efforts and perseverance of Luther.

Since the death of Maximilian the Austrian territories had been possessed in common by Charles and Ferdinand; bnt in 1521 a partition was made. Charles ceded to his brother Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniolia, with their dependencies, and in the ensuing year, the Tyrol, and the exterior provinces in Suabia and Alsace, reserving to himself only the reversion of the Brisgau and the Alsatian territories, which he afterwards relinquished. By this cession the house of Austria was divided into two separate and independent branches; the Spanish branch under Charles, and the German under Ferdinand.

As this work is appropriated to the history of the sovereigns of Austria, the transactions of Charles, as king of Spain and emperor of Germany, are not included in our plan; but as Ferdinand, soon after the partition, became king of the Romans, as he finally succeeded to the imperial crown, it becomes necessary, for the elucidation of the subject, not to omit the affairs of Germany under Charles, and particularly to dwell on the rise and progress of the Reformation, which produced such important effects to the house of Austria and to Europe.

Among the causes enumerated by Charles for the convocation of a diet, one of the most important was, "to concert with the princes of the empire effectual measures for *checking the progress of those new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their ancestors.*"

The death of Maximilian was a fortunate crisis for the Reformation. Frederic, elector of Saxony, to whom, as one of the vicars of the empire, the reins of government in the circle of Saxony were consigned during the inter-

regnum, was averse to theological disputes, and rather indifferent to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic faith, than partial to the new doctrines. Till a short period before the death of the emperor he had never heard the discourses of Luther, perused his writings, or even admitted him into his presence; but gave him a tacit protection solely from the recommendation of his ministers, and of the Augustine vicar-general Staupitz, and from the advantages which his fame drew to the university. Even the credit which Luther derived from the examination at Augsburgh, did not encourage the elector to brave the censures of the church and the resentment of the emperor; and Luther was so hopeless of support, that he proposed to withdraw from Saxony. The petition, however, of the university, and a manly letter from Luther, urging the injustice of condemning his doctrines unheard, prevailed over the indecision of the elector; he refused to withdraw his protection; and, from the commencement of his vicarial authority, evinced such a partiality for the reformer and his doctrines, as induced the pope to suspend all proceedings for eighteen months.

During this interval, and under these favourable auspices the new doctrines gained a wonderful ascendency. The pope, indeed, used every effort suggested by moderation and good sense to pacify the reformer, and would have succeeded in persuading him to remain silent, had he not been counteracted by the imprudent zeal of his own advocates. By the intercession of his friends, Luther was induced to promise silence, and had even exhorted others to honour the church; but he was drawn into a public dispute*

* The first conference, held the 27th June, 1519, was on the subject of free-will, and opened by Carlstadt and Eckius; but Luther afterwards took the place of Carlstadt, and continued the disputation with Eckius on various points of doctrine, such as justification by faith, free-will, repentance, grace, and sin; also on the supremacy of the pope, and indulgences. On the subject of free-will, grace, and good works, the catholic divine prevailed in point of argument; but Luther had the advantage in the articles relative to the supremacy of the pope, indulgences, and the inferences to be deduced from those principles; and the mode in which the disputation was conducted was calculated to give the best effect, and secure the best reception to his doctrines; for

at Leipsic, in which he was provoked to renew all his former assertions, and even to deny the existence of purgatory and the divine authority of the pope.

The attacks of the Roman Catholic divines, as well as the censures published by the universities of Cologne and Louvaine, only served to draw from him new arguments in support of his principles, and new invectives against the advocates of the Catholic church. At length, in a letter, dated April 6th, 1520, which was extorted from him by the representations of his friends, as a proof of returning obedience, he entered into a vindication of his conduct; and, amidst ironical expressions of esteem and respect for the pontiff, he gave way to the most furious philippic against the vices and profligacy of the Roman court; concluding with a determination never to retract, and a resolution to submit to no restraint in interpreting the Word of

while Eckius adduced the authority of the fathers, canons, and traditions, and the decisions of the popes on controverted questions, Luther denied all authority, except that of Scripture and reason, and urged the right of private judgment in all matters of faith; and this single point, which was not less flattering to the audience than founded on truth, was the leading cause which undermined the vast fabric of the papal authority. This dispute, in which both parties, as usual, claimed the victory, was continued in writing, not only by Carlstadt, but Melanchthon, and other eminent scholars. The publication of their remarks and opinions extended the spirit of discussion and inquiry, and the prolongation of the contest proved almost as injurious to the see of Rome, as if its cause had, in the first instance, experienced a total defeat. Dupin, b. ii. c. 5.; Beausobre; Roscoe's Leo X.

The doctrine of justification by faith alone, without works, was an early and favourite tenet of Luther, and a leading principle in the articles of religion drawn up by him; and although it seems, at first sight, to be merely a doctrinal point, yet it had an extraordinary tendency to weaken the papal authority; for by excluding good works as entitling men to salvation, it took away the merit of supererogation, and thus overset the doctrine of indulgences, and other sources of papal revenue. Luther afterwards carried this principle to such excess as to adopt the doctrine of absolute predestination and necessity, in almost the same degree as Calvin. Against these positions, the Roman Catholics asserted the reality of free-will, and the consequent necessity of works as well as faith; and even the warmest adherents of Luther cannot deny that he was often reduced to the most absurd conclusions and embarrassing dilemmas to maintain his doctrine.

God, "which, inculcating the liberty of all, must itself be free." *

This letter, in which the undaunted reformer threw down the gauntlet, could not be considered by the Roman court in any other light than as a declaration of hostility; and Leo was reluctantly compelled to depart from his system of moderation, and, on the 15th of July, 1520, to publish the celebrated bull, which proved so fatal to the church of Rome. Forty-one propositions, extracted from Luther's works, were condemned as heretical; the perusal of his writings was interdicted; he himself, if he did not retract within sixty days, was declared an heretic, and excommunicated; and all princes and states were exhorted, under pain of incurring the same censure, to seize his person, and punish him and his adherents. This bull was considered, by the friends of the ancient religion, as the forerunner of a certain triumph over the new heresy of Luther; Eckius himself conveyed it into Germany, and the works of the reformer were burnt in the cities of Louvaine, Cologne, and Mentz. But it experienced a far different reception in those places where the new doctrines had gained ground; for in some the people violently obstructed the promulgation and in others insulted the persons who published it, and even tore the bull in pieces, and trampled it under foot.

The spirit of Luther rising in proportion to the difficulties and dangers with which he was threatened, he published animadversions on this "execrable bull of Antichrist," and a book, called the Captivity of Babylon, in which he renounced all obedience to the pope, and advanced the leading principles which afterwards formed his system of doctrine. He followed this work by another, intended to render the court of Rome odious to the Germans, in which he detailed the wars waged by the popes against the emperors, asserted the superiority of the civil over the ecclesiastical power, advised the whole nation to renounce

* This letter is inserted in Luther's Works, vol. i. p. 385., and is given in Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo X., App. vol. ii., (Bohn's edition,) who has corrected many important errors in points of dates and facts. This letter has been post-dated by some advocates of Luther, in September; but was undoubtedly written in April, and occasioned the promulgation of the bull.

their obedience to the Roman see, and proposed a thorough reformation of the church. But he crowned all these attacks by one of the most daring acts recorded of any private individual in history.

On the morning of the tenth of December, 1520, accompanied by all the professors and students of the university of Wittemberg, and a large concourse of spectators, he repaired to the eastern gate of the city. A pile of wood being kindled, he committed to the flames the canons and decrees of the popes, the writings of his controversial antagonists, and finally, the papal bull of excommunication; exclaiming, in the words of Ezekiel, "Because thou hast troubled the Holy One of God, let eternal fire consume thee." On the ensuing day he mounted the pulpit, and, after due admonition to his audience, concluded by observing, "The conflagration of yesterday is a matter of small importance; it would be to more purpose were the pope himself, or rather the see of Rome, committed to the flames."* He soon afterwards published an apology, in which he declared, that as a christian and doctor of divinity, he was bound to prevent the diffusion of false and corrupt doctrines, and justified himself by asserting that he had only retaliated on his adversaries, who had burnt his writings, in order to propagate their devilish antichristian tenets. "On this account," he added, "with the inspiration as I trust, of the Holy Spirit, I have burnt the bull; and, convinced that the pope is the man of sin, or antichrist, mentioned in the Revelations, I have shaken off his yoke, and offer myself as a sacrifice for the doctrines which I glory in preaching." He then extracted from the canon law thirty propositions which maintained the supremacy and infallibility of the pope; and concluded by citing from the Revelations, "Reward her [Babylon] as she rewarded you; and double unto her double according to her works; in the cup which she has filled, fill her double."

The example of Luther, in burning the papal bull, was followed by many cities in Germany with additional marks of indignation and contempt. Although no secular prince had publicly embraced his opinions, although no innovation in the forms of worship had been actually introduced, and

* Lutheri Opera, tom. ii. p. 320.; Beausobre, an. 1520.

no encroachment made on the possessions and jurisdiction of the clergy; yet an indelible impression had been stamped on the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrinal points was shaken, and those seeds of reformation had already taken root which soon afterwards sprung up to maturity. At Wittemberg many divines and learned men, among whom the most conspicuous were the eccentric Carlstadt, and the learned and amiable Melanchthon, had embraced and supported the doctrines of Luther; and numerous students, flocking to that university in greater crowds than before from all parts of Germany, imbibed opinions, which, on their return to their native countries, they propagated with ardour and success. Nor was this religious ferment confined within the boundaries of Germany, but spread with similar rapidity into other countries of Europe, and particularly into Switzerland, where Zuingel and Bullinger had opposed indulgences with the same success as Luther, and where the printing of his works by the press of Frobenius, at Basle, had contributed to diffuse the spirit of his doctrines.

Such was the state of the Lutheran controversy at the opening of the diet of Worms, on the 6th of January, 1521.

Charles had already given evident proofs of an hostile disposition towards the Lutheran doctrines, as well from conviction, as from a desire of obliging the pope, and an apprehension of alienating his subjects in Spain and the Low Countries, who were zealously attached to the religion of their ancestors. Before his departure from Spain he had declared his intention to suppress the new opinions, and on his arrival in the Low Countries had permitted the universities of Louvaine and Antwerp to burn the writings of Luther, and even supported the instances of the pope in urging the elector of Saxony to banish him from his territories. With these sentiments he opened the diet of Worms, permitted the papal legates to inveigh against Luther, and proposed that the German states should also condemn his doctrines, and commit his writings to the flames.

Charles, however, was astonished to find that the proscribed opinions had taken a deep root, and spread over great part of the empire. The diet itself displayed an

evident disposition to favour an attack on the pretensions and exactions of the pope; and the states presented a long list of grievances against the Roman see, of which they required the emperor, in virtue of his capitulation, to obtain redress. In opposition to all the remonstrances of the legates, the members of the diet, at the instigation of the elector of Saxony, refused to proscribe Luther before he had acknowledged himself as the author of the propositions condemned by the papal bull, and had refused to recant, as a measure no less contrary to the principles of justice than to the laws of the empire; and they declared, that if he was convicted of error, and refused to retract, they would then assist the emperor in punishing his contumacy. The legates, who probably expected the same implicit obedience which had so long been paid to the dictates of the church, in vain contended that an affair, already decided by the pope, could never be again brought into deliberation, and that a dispute with Luther would be endless, because he refused to acknowledge the authority of the church. They had the mortification to find that all their remonstrances were ineffectual, and that their assertions of papal infallibility were heard by the majority with indifferrence or contempt.

Charles, perceiving the sentiments of the diet, and unwilling to offend the elector of Saxony, to whom he owed the imperial crown, affected great candour and moderation, and, on the 6th of March, despatched a respectful summons and safe conduct to Luther; though, to appease the legate, he promised that Luther should not be suffered to defend, but simply to acknowledge or recant his doctrines. The undaunted reformer obeyed the summons with alacrity. His journey to Worms was like a triumphal procession, and his reception, from all orders of men, evinced the highest respect and admiration. Greater crowds assembled to behold him than had been drawn together by the public entry of the emperor; and his apartments were crowded daily and hourly with persons of the highest rank and consequence. On his appearance before the diet he behaved with great propriety, and acted with equal prudence and firmness. He acknowledged without hesitation, the works published under his name, but divided them into three

classes. The first, he adroitly observed, relating to faith and good works, contained doctrines which were not disapproved even by his adversaries; the second, relating to the power and decrees of the pope, he could not retract without injuring his conscience, and contributing to the support of papal tyranny; and in the third, consisting of his writings against his opponents, he acknowledged, with regret, that the provocations of his adversaries had urged him beyond the bounds of moderation. He concluded, as usual, with declining to retract the condemned propositions, until convinced by arguments from reason and Scripture, not by the fallible authority of popes and councils, which experience had proved to be frequently erroneous and contradictory. When again required to recant, he persisted in his resolution, and concluded with exclaiming, "Here I stand; I can do no more. God be my help. Amen."

The papal legate, and some of the members of the diet, provoked at his contumacy, exhorted the emperor to imitate the example of his predecessor, Sigismond, by withdrawing his protection from an heretic; but Charles rejected their advice with becoming disdain. He was, however, no less exasperated at the refusal of Luther to recant; and, after the second examination, retired in the evening to his cabinet, and drew up, with his own hand, a declaration of his attachment to the church, and of his resolution to proscribe the condemned doctrines. "Descended as I am," he said, "from the Christian emperors of Germany, the Catholic kings of Spain, and from the archdukes of Austria and the dukes of Burgundy, all of whom have preserved, to the last moment of their lives, their fidelity to the church, and have always been the defenders and protectors of the Catholic faith, its decrees, ceremonies, and usages, I have been, am still, and will ever be devoted to those Christian doctrines, and the constitution of the church, which they have left to me as a sacred inheritance. And as it is evident that a simple monk has advanced opinions contrary to the sentiments of all Christians, past and present, I am firmly determined to wipe away the reproach which a toleration of such errors would cast on Germany, and to employ all my power and resources, my body, my blood, my life, and even my soul, in checking the progress of this sacrile-

gious doctrine. I will not, therefore, permit Luther to enter into any further explanation, and will instantly dismiss, and afterwards treat him as an heretic; but I will not violate my safe conduct, and will cause him to be reconducted to Wittemberg in safety."

This declaration strikingly evinces the sentiments and indignation of Charles; but he had not sufficient influence to carry his threat into execution. Many of the princes complained that he had broken the rules of the diet, by first giving his opinion; and some of the warmest partisans of the new doctrines could not refrain from injurious reflections, and declarations that persecution would involve the empire in a civil war.

In consequence of this opposition, and at the instances of the states, the emperor found it necessary to make another attempt to obtain the recantation of Luther, by a private conference; and although he failed of success, was compelled to wait till the electors of Saxony and Palatine had quitted the diet, before he could venture to propose a decree of proscription. This celebrated decree, which is known by the name of the edict of Worms, was passed on the 28th of May, but, to give it the appearance of unanimity, was antedated the 8th. It declared Luther an heretic and schismatic, confirmed the sentence of the pope, and denounced the ban of the empire against all who should defend, maintain, or protect him. To prevent also the dissemination of his opinions, it prohibited the impression of any book on matters of faith, without the approbation of the ordinary, and of some neighbouring university. The promulgation of this edict was a subject of triumph to the favourers of the established church; but they had little reason to boast of their victory, for the fortitude, acuteness, and good sense of Luther rendered his doctrines more popular than before. Even during the sittings of the diet, and before the departure of the emperor, his works were publicly sold in the streets, and the sheets were snatched from the press to gratify the eagerness of his readers. But, above all, the result of his appearance at the diet tended to secure him the decided protection of the elector of Saxony, who now prided himself on defending a man whose fame reflected such honour on his patronage.

Luther had withdrawn from Worms, on the 26th of April, under a safe conduct for twenty-one days, and accompanied by an imperial herald. But the elector of Saxony had devised means to shelter him from the impending storm, without incurring the resentment of the pope and the emperor. Luther, on his arrival at Friedberg, dismissed the imperial herald, with letters to the emperor and the states in justification of his conduct, and near Eisenach was seized, on the 4th of May, by a troop of masked horsemen, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburgh, where he remained nine months, unknown even to his guards, and concealed from his friends and followers. During his seclusion in this solitude, which he called his Patmos, the indefatigable reformer contrived to disseminate several writings, not only in defence of his former doctrines, but still further attacking the principles and ceremonies of the church of Rome. He improved himself in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, which he had studied for the purpose of understanding the Scriptures in the original tongues, and commenced a translation of the Bible into German, which, when published, contributed more than any other cause to diffuse the principles of the Reformation, by opening to persons of the meanest capacity the sources of religion, and proving that the tenets of the Catholic church were not founded on Scripture. At the expiration of nine months Luther quitted his retreat, without the knowledge of the elector, and returned to Wittemberg, in order to regulate the reforms of the public worship which had been introduced during his absence, and to oppose the anabaptists, and other sectaries, who, under the sanction of his name, had given way to the most culpable excesses.

CHAP. XXVIII.—1521–1529.

NEITHER the decree of the diet nor the absence of Luther prevented the progress of his doctrines, and during his seclusion, the first public innovation in the ceremonies and discipline of the church of Rome was made at the instiga-

tion of his coadjutor, Carlstadt, a man more ardent and inflexible than even himself. He abolished private masses, removed the images from the churches, discontinued auricular confession, abstinence from meats, invocation of saints; administered the communion under both kinds, and not only promoted the renunciation of monastic vows, but himself set an example in entering into the marriage state.*

These innovations were not introduced without some acts of violence, or without creating murmurs and discontents; and the elector, who was doubtful what course to adopt, appealed first to the university, and afterwards to Luther himself. In consequence of this application Luther braved the dangers attending his proscription, and quitting his retreat, hastened to Wittemberg, in March, 1522, to check the spirit of innovation which actuated his followers. Although these reforms were not contrary to his own principles, he considered them as too precipitate, and was apprehensive lest a premature abolition of long-accustomed ceremonies should wound the consciences of the weak-minded, and lest the spirit of Christian liberty which he had promulgated should degenerate into licentiousness. He therefore condemned these proceedings in a spirited letter to the elector, written during his journey, and, on reaching Wittemberg, he preached seven days successively against the violent and imprudent manner in which the innovations had been introduced; and such was the ascendency of this wonderful man, that all things were instantly submitted to his absolute disposal. But although he had so strongly disapproved the proceedings of Carlstadt, his object was rather to suspend the progress, and prevent the ill effects of innovation, than to restore the discipline of the church; for he retained the most essential alterations, and revived or modified only those ceremonies which may be considered as indifferent; he allowed to

* Perhaps nothing more contributed to the progress of Luther's doctrines among the ecclesiastics than his writings against the celibacy of the clergy and vows of chastity, in consequence of which many nuns were induced to escape from their convents, and many ecclesiastics to renounce their vows and marry. The first example was set in 1521, by a priest of Kemberg, named Bartholomew Bernardi.

the people the option of worshipping or not worshipping images, of receiving the communion under one or both kinds, and of submitting or not submitting to auricular confession; but he continued the abolition of private masses, and encouraged persons in holy orders to renounce their vows and marry.

Fortunately for the reformation, the emperor was prevented from executing the edict of Worms by his absence from Germany, by the civil commotions in Spain, and still more by the war with Francis I., which extended into Spain, the Low Countries, and Italy, and for above eight years involved him in a continued series of contests and negotiations at a distance from Germany. His brother, Ferdinand, on whom, as joint president of the council of regency, the administration of affairs devolved, was occupied in quelling the discontents in the Austrian territories, and defending his right to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia; and thus the government of the empire was left to the council of regency, of which several members were inclined to favour innovation.

In consequence of these circumstances, the Lutherans were enabled to overcome the difficulties to which innovators of every kind are exposed; and they were no less favoured by the changes at the court of Rome. Leo dying in 1521, Adrian, his successor, who, by the influence of Charles, was raised to the pontifical chair, on the 9th of January, 1522, saw and lamented the corruptions of the church, and his ingenuous, but impolitic confessions, that the whole church, both in its head and members, required a thorough reformation, strengthened the arguments of his opponents; with the best intentions, and the strictest propriety in his personal conduct, he thus rendered those indecisive and lukewarm who were before most attached to his cause, and occasioned more real injury to the court of Rome than the most ambitious and licentious of his predecessors. The evasions, duplicity, and ill-timed rigour of his successor, Clement VII., instead of remedying the ill effects derived from his impolitic sincerity, taught mankind to condemn and despise what they had before only doubted and denied.

Nothing, perhaps, proved more the surprising change of

opinion in Germany, the rapid increase of those whom we shall now distinguish by the name of Lutherans, and the commencement of a systematic opposition to the church of Rome, than the transactions of the two diets of Nuremberg, which were summoned by the archduke Ferdinand *, principally for the purpose of enforcing the execution of the edict of Worms.

In a brief, dated in November, 1522, and addressed to the first diet, pope Adrian, after severely censuring the princes of the empire for not carrying into execution the edict of Worms, exhorted them, if mild and moderate measures failed, to cut off Luther from the body of the church as a gangrened and incurable member, in the same manner as Dathan and Abiram were cut off by Moses, Ananias and Sapphira by the apostles, and John Huss and Jerome of Prague by their ancestors. At the same time, with singular inconsistency, he acknowledged the corruptions of the Roman court as the source of the evils which overspread the church, promised as speedy a reformation as the nature of the abuses would admit, requested the advice of the Germanic body, and, like a true schoolman, backed all his promises with an axiom of Aristotle, "That all sudden revolutions are dangerous to a state."

The effect of this singular piece of simplicity totally disappointed the expectations of the pope. The members of the diet, availing themselves of his avowal, advised him to assemble a council in Germany for the reformation of abuses, and drew up a list of a hundred grievances which

* Great confusion and difficulty have arisen concerning the power and office of Ferdinand. Some say that he was appointed by Charles lieutenant-general and imperial vicar, for the administration of affairs; others, that he only acted as joint president of the council of regency. The real case was, Charles was prevented from appointing him his vicar by the remonstrances of the electors Palatine and Saxony, the vicars of the empire, who in virtue of that office, claimed the administration of affairs during the absence of the emperor, as well as during an interregnum. Charles, therefore, in order not to contravene their real or arrogated privileges, appointed his brother joint president of the council of regency with Frederic, brother of the elector palatine, and in order to secure for the archduke the presidency of the diet, Frederic withdrew to a small distance from the place of assembly whenever Ferdinand was present. — Leodius Vita Frederici ap Struvium, p. 1010.

they declared they would no longer tolerate, and, if not speedily delivered from such burdens, would procure relief by the authority with which God had intrusted them. To the demand against Luther, they replied, as his writings and discourses had opened the eyes of the people to many abuses in the court of Rome and among the clergy, they could not carry the edict into execution, without seeming to oppress the truth, and extinguish the light of the Gospel, or without exciting discontents and insurrections. They offered, indeed, to use their influence with the elector of Saxony, to prevent Luther and his adherents from making new attacks against the church; and, finally, they entreated the pope to carry his promised reform into execution as speedily as possible. The recess of the diet, published in March, 1523, was framed with the same spirit; instead of threats of persecution, it only enjoined all persons to wait with patience the determination of a free council, forbade the diffusion of doctrines likely to create disturbances, and subjected all publications to the approbation of men of learning and probity appointed by the magistrate. Finally, it declared, that as priests who had married, or monks who had quitted their convents, were not guilty of a civil crime, they were only amenable to an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and liable at the discretion of the ordinary to be deprived of their ecclesiastical privileges and benefices.

The Lutherans derived their greatest advantages from these proceedings, as the gross corruptions of the church of Rome were now proved by the acknowledgment of the pontiff himself; the very abuses, against which Luther and his followers had declaimed, were now brought forward, with many others, by the diet; and from this period they confidently appealed to the confession of the pontiff, and as frequently quoted the hundred grievances which were enumerated in a public and authentic act of the Germanic body. They not only regarded the recess, as a suspension of the edict of Worms, but construed the articles in their own favour. Their preachers considered themselves at liberty to expound the Gospel, according to their own tenets, as the pure doctrines of the church; and the married priests, despising ecclesiastical pains, when not enforced by

the civil magistrate, continued to receive the emoluments and to exercise the functions of their cures.

Hitherto the innovators had only preached against the doctrines and ceremonies of the Roman church, without exhibiting a regular system of their own; but it was more easy to refute existing errors than to establish principles which would stand the test of argument; more easy to overturn than to repair or rebuild the sacred edifice. To restrain the people, who were destitute of any fixed religious establishment, and clamoured for a new form of worship, from giving way to licentiousness, and to prevent the revival of the former innovations, Luther was persuaded, at the instances of the Saxon clergy, to form a regular system of faith and discipline; he translated the service into the German tongue, modified the form of the mass, and omitted many superstitious ceremonies; but he made as few innovations as possible, consistently with his own principles. To prevent also the total alienation or misuse of the ecclesiastical revenues, he digested a project for their administration, by means of an annual committee, and by his writings and influence effected its introduction. Under this judicious system the revenues of the church, after a provision for the clergy, were appropriated for the support of schools; for the relief of the poor, sick, and aged, of orphans and widows; for the reparation of churches and sacred buildings; and for the erection of magazines and the purchase of corn against periods of scarcity. These regulations and ordinances, though not established with the public approbation of the elector, were yet made with his tacit acquiescence, and may be considered as the first institution of a reformed system of worship and ecclesiastical polity; and in this institution the example of the churches of Saxony was followed by all the Lutheran communities in Germany.

The effects of these changes were soon visible, and particularly at the meeting of the second diet of Nuremberg, on the 10th of January, 1524. Faber, canon of Strasburgh, who had been enjoined to make a progress through Germany for the purpose of preaching against the Lutheran doctrines, durst not execute his commission, although under the sanction of a safe conduct from the council of regency.

Even the legate Campegio could not venture to make his public entry into Nuremberg with the insignia of his dignity; and at the persuasion of Ferdinand and the other princes who went out to receive him, was induced to lay aside his cardinal's hat and robes, for fear of being insulted by the populace. In the city itself the evangelical preachers, unawed by the presence of the diet, publicly inveighed against the corruptions of the church, and administered to the laity the communion under both kinds.

Instead, therefore, of annulling the acts of the preceding diet, the new assembly pursued the same line of conduct. Campegio, the legate from the new pope, Clement VII., who was anxious to remedy the mischiefs produced by the confessions of Adrian, in vain exhorted the diet to execute the edict of Worms, as the only means to suppress the Lutheran heresy; and his instances were supported by a rescript of the emperor, and by the urgent solicitations of the imperial ambassador. But the diet treated the rescript as an infringement of their privileges; and, in reply to the haughty instances of the legate, reverted to the list of a hundred grievances, and demanded unequivocally the convocation of a general council. The recess was, if possible, still more galling to the court of Rome, and more hostile to its prerogatives than that of the former diet. It commenced with a resolution that the pope, with the consent of the emperor, should speedily call a new council in Germany for the termination of the religious disputes. Without adverting to the condemnation of Luther's works by the pope, and as a prelude to this discussion, a new diet was to be summoned at Spire, to consult on the mode of proceeding, and to take into consideration such parts of those works as they should deem necessary to be submitted to the council. Meanwhile the magistrates were to cause the gospel to be preached without sedition or scandal, according to the sense of divines approved by the church, and to prohibit the publication of libels and caricatures against the pope and bishops.* The states, indeed, promised that the assembly should use its endeavours to execute the edict of

* With a view to increase the odium and contempt against the Roman see, Luther not only attacked it in his writings and discourses, but assailed it with the lighter artillery of libels and caricatures.

Worms; but this promise was coupled with a resolution, that the intended diet of Spire should take into consideration the list of grievances contained in the former memorial.

The Catholics, thus failing in their efforts to obtain the support of the diet, on the 6th of July, 1524, entered into an association at Ratisbon, under the auspices of Campegio, in which the archduke Ferdinand, the duke of Bavaria, and most of the German bishops concurred, for enforcing the edict of Worms. At the same time, to conciliate the Germans, the legate published twenty-nine articles for the amendment of some abuses; but these being confined to points of minor importance, and regarding only the inferior clergy, produced no satisfaction, and were attended with no effect.

Notwithstanding this formidable union of the Catholic princes, the proceedings of the diet of Nuremberg were but the prelude to more decisive innovations, which followed each other with wonderful rapidity. Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony, dying in 1525, was succeeded by his brother John the Constant, who publicly espoused and professed the Lutheran doctrines. The system recently digested by Luther, with many additional alterations, was introduced by his authority, and declared the established religion; and by his order the celebrated Melanchthon drew up an apology in defence of the reformed tenets for the princes who adopted them. Luther himself, who had in the preceding year thrown off the monastic habit, soon after the accession of the new sovereign ventured to give the last proof of his emancipation from the fetters of the church of Rome, by espousing on the 13th of July, 1525, Catherine Bora, a noble lady, who had escaped from the nunnery at Nimptschen, and taken up her residence at Wittemberg.

The example of the elector of Saxony was followed by Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, a prince of great influence and distinguished civil and military talents; by the dukes of Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, and Zell; and by the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Strasburgh, Frankfort, Nordhausen, Magdeburgh, Brunswick, Bremen, and others of less importance. But the most important innovation

was made by Albert, margrave of Brandenburgh, grand-master of the Teutonic order, who, in 1525, renounced his vow of celibacy, made a public profession of the Lutheran tenets, and, with the consent of Sigismond, king of Poland, secularised Eastern Prussia, and converted it into an hereditary duchy, to be held of that crown; at the same time he contracted a league of amity and mutual defence with the elector of Saxony.

Even in the hereditary countries of the house of Austria the Reformation found numerous advocates. Notwithstanding Ferdinand had endeavoured to enforce the edict of Worms, the evangelical principles were not only received by the people, but were adopted by many of the higher orders, and by the professors of the university of Vienna. The same spirit pervaded Bohemia; and that country, so feebly connected with the church and the empire, seemed again likely to become the scene of those religious troubles by which it had been desolated during the Hussite wars.

In consequence of the rapid diffusion of the new tenets, the most inveterate hatred and jealousy reigned between the two parties, and with the antipathy natural to religious disputes, each suspected the hostile intentions of the other. Perhaps this mutual distrust was on neither side without foundation; but the Catholics, in particular, were justly alarmed at the application of the new principles of religion to secular affairs. Men of ardent imaginations and licentious characters indulged themselves in the wildest speculations, and committed the most abominable disorders. Muncer and Storc, originally disciples of Luther, became the chiefs of a sect, which was distinguished by the name of Anabaptists, from the adoption of adult instead of infant baptism; they arrogated the gift of prophecy, formed a kingdom of the elect on earth, introduced a community of goods and wives, abjured all civil as well as religious authority, and threw off all restraints, divine and human. The emissaries of these fanatics spread among the peasants, and found little difficulty in rousing against the nobles, magistrates, and clergy, a class of men who groaned under all the oppressions of feudal despotism. In 1524, rebellions at once broke out, as if by concert, in almost every part of Germany. The peasants took the field in numerous bodies,

and giving full scope to the sentiments of vengeance which they had long suppressed, spared neither sex nor age, and rendered the provinces which they overran a dreadful scene of devastation and carnage. But the sovereigns of both parties uniting to crush a rebellion, which equally affected the rights and safety of all, the sect of Anabaptists was broken and dispersed: Muncer, their chief, received on the scaffold the reward of his crimes; and the peasants in 1525 were reduced to obedience, after no less than 100,000 had fallen in various encounters.

Although the Lutheran princes had been among the first to suppress this dangerous revolt; although all who professed the evangelical doctrines had expressed the utmost abhorrence of these fanatical excesses; and although Luther himself had written with great force against the acts and doctrines of Muncer and his followers, and exhorted the princes of his party to crush the rebellion; yet these excesses were naturally attributed by the Catholics to the diffusion of the new opinions, and they considered the suppression of the Lutheran heresy, and the re-establishment of the ancient worship, as the only means of preventing a repetition of these disorders. On the other hand, the reformed princes and states anxiously laboured to increase their party, and, in opposition to the Catholic league of Ratisbon, formed an association on the 14th of May, 1526, at Torgau, for mutual defence against all persecutions on account of religion, of which the members were the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, the duke of Mecklenburgh, the duke of Brunswick, the counts of Mansfeld, and the city of Magdeburgh.

These events and the instances of the Catholics calling the attention of Charles to Germany, he prepared to avail himself of the favourable aspect of his affairs in Italy to effect the suppression of the religious feuds. He had twice expelled the French from Milan, and baffled their attempts on Naples, had defeated and captured his rival, Francis I., at the battle of Pavia, on the 14th of January, 1526, and, after a rigorous confinement in Spain, had compelled him to sign the treaty of Madrid, by which he renounced his pretensions to Naples and Milan, promised to restore the duchy of Burgundy, engaged to concur in the extermina-

tion of the new doctrines, and, as a pledge for the performance of these conditions, had delivered his two eldest sons as hostages.

Charles had already declared his resentment in the strongest terms against the proceedings at Nuremberg, and had prevented the diet of Spire from entering on the subject for which it was convoked. In a letter to the states he announced his intention of being crowned in Italy by the pope, and of deliberating at the same time with his holiness concerning the convocation of a general council. He exhorted them to resist all attacks against the ancient constitution, laws, and usages of the church, and to enforce the edict of Worms in their respective territories. At the same time he expressed to each of the Catholic princes in particular his approbation of their conduct, and renewed his assurances that he would hasten to Germany, for the purpose of exterminating the errors of Luther, to the honour of the Almighty, and the satisfaction of all true Catholics. He also exhorted Henry duke of Brunswick and the bishop of Strasburgh, who, from the situation of their territories, were most exposed to the attacks of the Lutheran party, to persevere in their adherence to the established faith, and promised succours if they were molested on account of religion.

But before the diet could take cognisance of the emperor's mandate, he was again involved in a new war in Italy. The pope, jealous of his success, and alienated by his arrogance, had induced the states of Italy to unite in an association, to which he gave the appellation of the Holy League; and by this confederacy Francis was encouraged to break the treaty of Madrid, and to renew hostilities. At the same time, and probably in concert, Solyman the Magnificent*, bursting into Hungary, threatened the Austrian territories in Germany with an external attack, while agitated by internal feuds.

In the midst of these embarrassments, the diet of Spire continued its sittings, and the discussions on affairs of religion were conducted with such warmth as to threaten Germany with a civil war; the Catholics insisting on the

* For the Turkish wars in Hungary, the reader is referred to the reign of Ferdinand.

execution of the edict of Worms, and the Lutherans demanding a full and complete toleration. Extremities were fortunately avoided by the prudence and forbearance of Ferdinand, whose dominions were most exposed to external aggression, and a compromise was effected, which amounted to a temporary toleration. It was agreed that a national, or general council, should be convened within a year, and, in the mean time, the princes and states were to act, in regard to the edict of Worms, in such a manner as to answer for their conduct before God and the emperor.

In these circumstances, the resentment which Charles himself had conceived against Clement VII., for the formation of the Holy League, contributed to humble the see of Rome, and to promote the progress of the Lutheran doctrines. In a manifesto, published in reply to an angry apology of the pope, the emperor reprobated in the strongest terms his deceit and ambition, and appealed to a general council. To the college of cardinals he complained of Clement's partiality and injustice, and required them, in case of his refusal or delay, to summon a general council by their own authority. This manifesto, scarcely inferior in virulence to the invectives of Luther himself, being dispersed over Germany, was eagerly read by persons of all ranks; and, together with the sack of Rome, and the capture and imprisonment of the pope, taught the Germans, by the example of their chief, to treat the papal authority with little reverence, and more than counterbalanced the proscription of the Lutheran doctines. These events, together with the liberty granted by the diet of Spire, were prudently and industriously improved by the friends of the Reformation, to the advantage of their cause and the augmentation of their party. Several princes of the empire, whom the fear of persecution and punishment had hitherto deterred, now threw off all restraint; and not only hastened the conversion of their own subjects, but protected those of the Catholic princes and states, who withdrew from the church, while they rigorously proscribed the Catholic doctrines in their own dominions. Others, though they did not openly act against the interests of the Roman see, neither opposed the conversion of their subjects, nor molested their private conventicles. Meanwhile Luther and his fellow labourers, by their writings, instructions, and

example, inspired the timorous with fortitude, dispelled the doubts of the ignorant, fixed the principles and resolutions of the wavering, and animated all the friends of genuine Christianity with a spirit proportionate to the magnitude of their cause.

The Reformation, thus successful in Germany, spread with equal rapidity in the neighbouring countries. Zuingle, the illustrious head of the reformed church in Switzerland, who had preceded Luther in his attacks against the Roman see, who equalled him in zeal and intrepidity, and surpassed him in learning and candour, had advanced with more daring steps; and, free from the restraints which subjection to the will of a sovereign had imposed on the German divine, had overturned the whole fabric of the established worship. So early as 1524, the canton of Zurich renounced the supremacy of the pope; and, in 1528, Bern, Basle, and Schaffhausen, and part of the Grisons, Glarus, and Appenzel, followed the example.*

The reformed doctrines spread likewise over the kingdoms of the north: Christian II., the brother-in-law of Charles, had been driven from the throne of Sweden by Gustavus Vasa, and from that of Denmark by Frederic of Oldenburgh; and in both countries the jurisdiction of the pope was abolished, and the Lutheran declared the established religion. In England, also, the influence and authority of the church experienced a similar decline; the Reformation was received by the people with an eagerness which all the despotism of the sovereign could not repress, and even Henry VIII. himself, who, by writing against Luther, had acquired the title of Defender of the Faith, was preparing to undermine the authority of the pope, and was suing for that divorce from his queen, Catherine of Arragon, which soon afterwards occasioned the separation of England from the see of Rome. In France a similar schism took place, notwithstanding the efforts of Francis I., who, while he encouraged the reformers of Germany, persecuted them in his own dominions: a considerable party which had seceded from the church, had been already formed under the auspices of Farell, and afterwards in-

* Tscharner; Watteville; Planta.

creased by the labours of Calvin, from whom they received the denomination of Calvinists.

The progress of the reformed doctrines, and the conduct of the reformed princes, was not likely to allay the animosity which subsisted between the two religious parties. The Catholics presented urgent and continual representations to the emperor; and, on the other hand, the Lutherans exerted every effort to maintain and extend their cause, by entering into associations, and making preparations to resist aggression. Above all, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, a prince, perhaps sincere in his attachment to the new religion, but violent, ambitious, and interested, collected troops, and after alarming all Germany by dubious threats, commenced aggression by invading the territories of the bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg. The Catholic princes, being ill-prepared to retaliate, the civil war which now threatened Germany, and which afterwards burst forth with such fury, was suspended by their moderate language and pacific assurances; and Philip disbanded his troops, after receiving considerable sums of money in disbursement of his expenses. The reformed party were thus encouraged by the timidity and irresolution of their adversaries, and the animosity of the Catholics was augmented by their own humiliation.

The emperor, who had again recovered his ascendency in Italy, made overtures of peace to his enemies, that he might be enabled to exert himself in support of the Catholic cause. As a prelude to his designs, he summoned in 1529, a second diet at Spire, for the usual purpose of opposing the Turks, who had overrun Hungary, and even threatened the Austrian territories; but principally for terminating the contests relating to religion. It was opened on the 15th of March, and in the absence of the emperor, presided by Ferdinand, who had recently succeeded to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. Every other consideration yielded to the affairs of religion; and the Catholics, sensible of the fatal consequences derived from the vote passed at the preceding diet of Spire, united the influence of their whole body to procure its repeal or modification. By a majority of voices a decree was passed, under the pretence of explaining, but virtually repealing

the former edict of toleration, which was declared to have been misunderstood, and to have given rise to a variety of new doctrines. It was enacted, that in all places where the edict of Worms had been executed, it should be still observed, till the meeting of a council; that those who had adopted the new opinions should desist from all further innovations, that the mass should be re-established in all places where it had been abolished, and the Catholic subjects of reformed princes be suffered to enjoy unlimited toleration. The ministers of the Gospel were to preach the word of God, according to the interpretation of the church, and to abstain from promulgating new doctrines. No hostilities were to be committed under pretence of religion, and no prince was to protect the subjects of another. The severest penalties were denounced against the Anabaptists; and regulations were established against the reformed sect called Sacramentarians, who, in the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament, differed both from the Catholics and Lutherans.

The Lutherans could not avoid perceiving the intent of this decree, and were justly alarmed with its probable consequences. After in vain endeavouring to prevent it from receiving the approbation of the diet, they published their dissent by a regular protest. They declared that what had been decided unanimously in one diet, ought not to be revoked in another by a majority; and as the mass had been proved by their ministers to be contrary to the institution of Christ, they could not conscientiously permit its use among their subjects, or allow the absurd practice of administering the communion according to two different forms in the same place. They reprobated the clause which enacted the preaching of the Gospel according to the interpretations of the church, because it did not determine which was the true church. They argued that the Scripture, as the only certain and infallible rule of life, ought to be explained by itself alone, and not by human traditions, which are doubtful and uncertain; and they, therefore, declared their resolution to suffer nothing to be taught except the Old and New Testament in their pristine purity. They readily acceded to the proscription of the Anabaptists; but with a liberality of sentiment, which they after-

wards belied, they refused to join in proscribing the Sacramentarians, on the same principle which they had claimed for themselves, that no doctrines ought to be condemned until they had been heard and refuted. They concluded with professing their earnest desire to maintain tranquillity, and their acquiescence in the prosecution of those who were said to have violated the peace, before equitable judges.

This protest was signed by John, elector of Saxony, George, margrave of Brandenburgh Anspach, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Brunswick Lunenberg, Philip, landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, and fourteen imperial cities*, who thus appealed to the emperor and to a future council. From this *protest* the Lutherans acquired the name of Protestants, which has been since applied to all who separated from the church of Rome.

CHAP. XXIX.—1529–1534.

NOTWITHSTANDING the remonstrance of the Protestants, the decree of the diet of Spire was but the prelude to still severer measures, which the emperor was determined to enforce by his presence, when relieved from the war in which he was then engaged. He had, therefore, no sooner concluded the treaty of Barcelona with the pope, and that of Cambray with Francis, that he quitted Spain with a resolution to restore the unity of the church. At Placentia, being met by a deputation with the protest of the Lutherans, he arrested the deputies, and arrogantly required its revocation. He continued his route to Bologna, where he was met on the 21st of February, 1520, by Clement VII., and

* These cities were Strasburgh, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Heilbron, Isna, Weissemburgh, Nordlingen, and St. Gallen; and the following, not long afterwards, admitted the Reformation: Augsburgh, Frankfort, Hanover, Hamburgh, Minden, Eslingen, Brunswick, Goslar, Gottingen, and Eimbeck. From this list, in addition to that of the princes mentioned in the text, the reader will judge of the great extent to which the Reformation had spread.

received the crowns of Lombardy and of the empire with more than usual solemnity.

During his stay at Bologna he was induced, by the advice of his chancellor Gattinara, to assume at least the appearance of more mildness and moderation than he had before displayed, and to fulfil his repeated promises of endeavouring to procure the convocation of a general council. With this view he held frequent and private conferences with Clement; but he was unable to overcome his repugnance, and was persuaded by the pontiff to resume his intention of employing force, if he failed in effecting the re-union of the church by mild and moderate measures.* In consequence of this determination, he summoned a diet to meet at Augsburgh in April, in a circular letter, dated January 1, which breathes the spirit of conciliation and Christianity. "I have convened," he observed, "this assembly, to consider the difference of opinions on the subject of religion; and it is my intention to hear both parties with candour and charity, to examine their respective arguments, to correct and reform what requires to be corrected and reformed, that the truth being known, and harmony re-established, there may, in future, be only one pure and simple faith, and, as all are disciples of the same Jesus, all may form one and the same church."

A subsequent letter, in which he prorogued the meeting till the 15th of May, was couched in expressions equally temperate and equitable. Yet, notwithstanding these specious declarations of impartiality and moderation, the Protestant princes had just reason to doubt his sincerity. They

* These conferences between the emperor and the pope are involved in impenetrable mystery, as they were conducted in the most private manner, and probably often without the intervention of a third person. Their real purport, therefore, can only be conjectured from the result: yet Celestinus and others have preserved three formal speeches, supposed to be delivered by the pope, the chancellor Gattinara, and the emperor. Besides the improbability that such speeches were made, and the still greater improbability that they should have been preserved, they bear the internal evidence of fabrication. The speech of Charles, in particular, is scarcely less *heretical* than the writings of Luther himself. These speeches remind us of the long and pompous harangues which historians have given as having been delivered in the cabinets of princes, or on the field of battle.

recollected his earnest endeavours to enforce the edict of Worms, and the exertion of all his influence and authority in the empire to obtain the edict of the second diet of Spire. The preamble of the treaty of Madrid, in which he had unequivocally announced his hostility to their doctrines, and the arrest of the deputies who carried their protest, were the most public proofs of his intentions. They were also alarmed at his long residence at Bologna, and his frequent conferences and good understanding with the pope; and they had already learned to dread and suspect his dissimulation. In fact, the Protestant princes were so convinced that the emperor covered, under fair words, the most intolerant and despotic designs, that they deliberated whether they should not instantly assemble their forces, conclude an alliance with Zurich and Bern, and attack him before he was in a situation to subjugate them. But this resolution, of which subsequent events proved the expediency, was counteracted by the divines of Wittemberg, and by none more than Luther, who, though fierce in debate, and overbearing in controversy, was averse to war, and exhorted the elector to leave to God the defence of his own cause.

In consequence of these remonstrances, the protesting princes, who had held several meetings for the purpose of forming an armed association, consented to attend the diet, and to conciliate the emperor by every mark of obedience which truth would permit; but still firmly determined to defend their principles, if compelled to appeal to the sword. With this view the elector would not allow Luther to accompany him to the diet, but left him at the neighbouring castle of Coburgh, that he might not offend the emperor by his presence, while he continued at hand to assist his party by his counsels.

Charles had so arranged his journey as to arrive at Augsburgh on the eve of the feast of the holy sacrament, as well to have a pretext for requiring the attendance of the Protestant princes at high mass, as to testify his respect for his religion. But he soon learned, from experience, that his Catholic advisers, who had described the Protestant party as easily overcome, had misrepresented the truth; he found that they were neither to be moved from their

purpose by promises or threats, and he could not prevail upon them to lay injunctions on their preachers, until he had agreed to silence those, on his side, who were the most violent in their abuse of the Lutherans, and had appointed others, with an express charge not to discuss any point of controversy, and to abstain from all invectives. The Protestants also refused to attend the procession of the host; and the margrave of Brandenburgh, lifting up his hands, exclaimed, "I will rather instantly offer my head to the executioner, than renounce the Gospel and approve idolatry." He also publicly told the emperor, that Christ had not instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be carried in pomp through the streets, nor to be adored by the people; and that, in delivering the consecrated bread to his disciples, he had said, "Take, eat;" but had never added, "Put this sacrament in a vase, carry it publicly in triumph, and let the people prostrate themselves before it."

At the opening of the diet a new embarrassment arose. As it was the custom to commence the meeting by a mass of the Holy Ghost, the elector of Saxony, who, as grand marshal, was to bear the sword of state, refused to attend, although the emperor threatened to confer his office on another. At length the Lutheran ministers themselves overcame his scruples by representing the duty as a civil, not a religious ceremony, and justified their permission by the example of the prophet Elisha, who permitted Naaman, the captain of the host of Syria, to bow himself in the house of Rimmon, when the king his master leaned on his arm, and worshipped the idol. But although the elector was persuaded to appear at the mass, yet he refused to bow before the idol, as the Lutherans termed the consecrated host; and both he and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel remained standing, when the whole congregation prostrated themselves at the elevation.

The Protestants had long been anxious to remove the stigma which confounded them with the Anabaptists and other sectaries, and to silence the imputation that they rejected the authority of the Scriptures; at the same time they were desirous to give a system of their doctrines, in order to show the grounds of their dissent from the church of Rome. They therefore availed themselves of the em-

peror's declaration, that it was his intention to hear the sentiments of all relative to religion in love and amity, to present to him before the diet the confession of their faith, which has been since termed the confession of Augsburgh: they accordingly drew up and delivered two copies in the German and Latin tongues.

Charles could not decline receiving this document, but used every subterfuge to prevent it from becoming public. He would not allow it to be read, till the princes refused to deliver it on any other condition; and, to prevent the impression which the perusal might make on the members of the diet, he adjourned the assembly to the chapel of the palace, which only contained two hundred auditors. When Bayer, the chancellor of Saxony, advanced to read the confession, Charles commanded him to use the Latin copy, and was only induced to change his resolution by the bold reply of the elector, "Sire, we are now on German ground; and I trust that your majesty will not order the apology of our faith, which ought to be made as public as possible, to be read in a language not understood by the Germans." Then Bayer pronounced the confession in a voice so loud and distinct, that it was heard in the neighbouring apartments, and even in the court-yard of the palace, which was crowded with people. At the conclusion of the lecture, which lasted two hours, the emperor took the copies, and descending from his throne, requested the Protestant princes not to publish the confession without his consent.

This confession may be divided into three parts: the first contained certain articles on general and undisputed points of religion; the second, those which were partly received and partly rejected by the Protestants; and the third related to the ceremonies and usages in which they totally dissented from the church of Rome, particularly the administration of the communion, the celibacy of priests, auricular confession, the ceremonies of the mass, abstinence from meats, monastic vows, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The substance was applied by Luther; but the form was the work of the celebrated Melancthon, whose love of peace, and hatred of polemical controversy, led him to soften many points, to avoid all rancorous expressions, and to lay down

their dissent from the received principles of the church in terms as little offensive to the Catholics as possible.

Charles was greatly embarrassed in what manner to proceed: the Catholics were divided among themselves; several of the princes urged the necessity of preventing, by force, the diffusion of the Protestant doctrines; and the cardinal bishop of Saltzburgh publicly declared, "Either we must suffer the Protestants to abolish our religion, or we must abolish theirs." His opinion was favoured by George, duke of Saxony, William, duke of Bavaria, and by most of the bishops; and was strongly enforced by the papal legate Campegio. Charles himself was inclined to adopt rigorous measures, as he clearly saw the absurdity, as well as the danger, of rendering the diet a school of theology, and allowing the two parties to discuss intricate questions, which could never be decided, and would only tend to increase their discordance. But in these designs he found great difficulties; many among the Catholics were conciliated by the principles and language of the Augsburgh confession, and a considerable party deprecated all violent measures from motives of policy and humanity, and hoped to bring back the Protestants within the pale of the church by mildness and persuasion; this party was supported by Albert, cardinal archbishop of Mentz, who, from his character and office, possessed a preponderant influence in the diet.

In consequence of this diversity of opinions, Charles could not venture to throw off the mask of moderation. He therefore gave the confession to be examined and refuted by the Catholic divines, and caused the refutation to be read in the same chapel, and before the same audience. He refused to deliver them a copy except on the condition that no written answer should be made, and when the Protestants prepared an answer, the emperor, aware that these replies and rejoinders would be endless, refused to receive it.

During the interval which passed between the lecture of the confession and that of the refutation, conferences had likewise been opened between the most moderate of both sects. Yet, although many articles were softened, and the conciliating spirit of Melancthon made several concessions

which he was not authorised to make, the points in dispute were too numerous and too considerable for the two parties to coincide. These conferences failing of success, Charles consented to refer the difference to arbitration; but, as he chose for mediators the most zealous among the Catholics, the result of that attempt tended rather to widen than to lessen the breach, if it were not intended as an excuse for the rigorous measures which he had determined to adopt.

In consequence of his orders, Joachim, elector of Brandenburgh, required the Protestants to renounce their errors, as being contrary to the Gospel, and declared that if they persevered in resisting the commands of the emperor, and opposing all the measures which had been adopted for the good of Christianity, and of their native country in particular, they must answer for the effusion of blood which their conduct would occasion in Germany.

The hostile views manifested on this occasion by Charles and the Catholics alarmed the Protestants, lest he should endeavour to suppress their party by seizing their chiefs. These suspicions, whether well or ill founded, made so strong an impression, that on the very day in which the conferences were opened, the landgrave of Hesse escaped from Augsburgh. His flight was no sooner known, than the emperor caused the gates of the town to be shut and guarded by his troops, to prevent the rest of the Protestants from following the example. But he was induced to revoke this order by the remonstrances of the states, who represented the measure as contrary to the freedom of the diet; and he accepted the excuses of the other Protestants, and their promise not to retire without his permission.

Failing, however, in his attempts to intimidate the Protestants, he endeavoured to sow dissensions between the deputies of the imperial cities and the princes; and strove, by the most advantageous offers, first to detach the elector of Saxony, and afterwards the margrave of Brandenburgh. Finally, when threats and lures proved equally fruitless, he published, on the 16th of November, 1530, the intolerant decree, by which all the doctrines, ceremonies, and all other usages of the church were to be re-established; married priests who retained their wives were to be deprived of their benefices; the suppressed convents and all ecclesias-

tical property which had been alienated to be restored, and in a word, every innovation of every kind to be revoked. All things were then to remain on the ancient footing till the meeting of a council which was to be summoned within six months. The operation of this decree was to commence on the 15th of the ensuing April, and the imperial ban, with the usual pains and penalties, was denounced against all who opposed its execution.

Thus terminated a transaction which fully unfolded the duplicity of Charles, whose candour and condescension have been so highly praised by venal or partial historians; but whose conduct was a series of fraud, dissimulation, and artifice, unworthy of a great prince, and diametrically opposite to those principles of equity and moderation which he affected to profess. The Lutheran princes and states on the contrary deserve the highest encomiums for their union and steadiness in defeating the emperor's artful endeavours to divide or deceive them, and for their determined resolution rather to perish than to renounce their principles. Yet they at the same time disgraced the noble cause in which they were engaged, by refusing to receive into their communion, Zuingle and his followers, who differed from them only in regard to the doctrine of the sacrament*, and thus neglected an opportunity of preventing a schism, which afterwards endangered the safety of the Protestant body.

This difference of opinion occasioned vehement disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians, who were stigmatised with the name of *Sacramentarians.* With the hope of reconciling the two parties, a conference had been held at Marburgh, in 1529, between Luther and Zuingle, at the request of Philip, landgrave of Hesse; but with as

* Luther, though he denied transubstantiation, or the total change of the elements into the real body and blood of Christ, yet with a quibbling distinction endeavoured to maintain the literal sense of the words: "This is my body; and this is my blood;" by asserting the essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine, which he called by the barbarous term of consubstantiation. Zuingle contended that the words were to be interpreted in a figurative sense; and that the bread and wine were only signs and interpretations. He also differed materially from Luther in regard to his notion of justification by faith, original sin, and free-will; but, for the sake of uniformity, he made great concessions on these points.

little effect as the conferences of the Lutherans with the Catholics. In consequence of this disagreement, the tenth* article of the confession of Augsburgh was expressly worded, in order to exclude the followers of Zuingle from the privileges granted to the professors of that doctrine. Thus a formal division was first made among the Protestants, and thus the Lutherans, while they maintained their right to dissent from the church of Rome, yet denied to others the same right of dissenting from them, and preferred the vain hope of conciliating the Catholics to the support of so numerous a body as the followers of Zuingle. Charles, taking advantage of this division, refused to receive the confession of Zuingle and of the cities of Strasburgh, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, which adhered to the opinions of the Swiss reformer; and ignominiously joined the Sacramentarians with the Anabaptists, as objects of general odium and persecution.

It was no difficult matter to obtain from the diet, of which the greater part were Catholics, a majority in favour of this decree; but it was not so easy a task to carry it into execution, particularly during the weak government of the council of regency†, and the long and frequent absences of the emperor. Charles, therefore, readily acceded to the instances of the Catholic party, to obtain the appointment of a king of the Romans, who being attached to the church, might by his presence give force to the government, and support to the Catholic cause. With a natural partiality he proposed his brother Ferdinand, who, in addition to the hereditary countries of the house of Austria, had recently obtained the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. He positively refused to accept any other coadjutor; and his powerful influence concurring with the wishes of the Catholic electors, Ferdinand was regularly

* "With regard to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body and blood of Christ are *really* present and distributed to the communicants, *and* they *condemn those who teach otherwise.*"

† The former council of regency was dissolved at the second diet of Nuremberg, in consequence of the attachment of its members to the Protestant doctrines; but the new members being in general imbued with the same principles, its dissolution became to the Catholics a matter of necessity.

chosen by the whole college, on the 5th of January, 1531, except the elector of Saxony.

This accession of influence to the emperor, together with the intolerant decree of the diet of Augsburgh, spread the greatest alarm among the Protestants. During the negotiations for this election, they had assembled at Smalkalde, in December, 1530, and concluded their celebrated league for the maintenance of their religion and liberties; and thus united the Protestant states in one great political body. After the election of Ferdinand, they assembled a second time to renew their confederacy, and to remonstrate against a measure which they considered as contrary to the stipulations of the golden bull, and to the privileges of the Germanic body. They also entered into a secret treaty with the king of France, who was anxious to avail himself of the troubles in Germany, and they received promises of support from the kings of England, Sweden, and Denmark. Both parties prepared for war, and the imperial chamber commenced processes against the Protestants for the restitution of the alienated property of the church.

Charles himself was eager to commence hostilities; but he was not seconded by the Catholic princes, who deprecated a civil war, and was embarrassed by the intrigues of the king of France, and by an alarming invasion of the Turks, who, to the number of 300,000 men, headed by the sultan himself, had burst into Hungary, and threatened Austria with invasion. Such imminent danger overcame all other considerations, and Charles found it necessary to court those very princes and states against whom he had resolved to exert all the rigour of his authority. The Protestants, however, rejected all his demands, till he had consented to suspend the execution of his decree; and after various negotiations a temporary arrangement was settled at Nuremberg, in August, 1532, which is usually considered as the first religious truce in Germany. The Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, according to the apology and confession of Augsburgh, until a rule of faith was settled by a general council or a diet of the empire. Meanwhile they were to retain the alienated church goods and lands; all proceedings against them in the imperial chamber were to be suspended, and

their assessors to be admitted into that tribunal; on their side, they agreed not to support the Sacramentarians or Anabaptists, and to furnish their proper contingents against the Turks.

The religious feuds being thus suspended, the German states were enabled to turn their whole force against the enemy of Christendom. The Protestants, eager to prove that their recent opposition had been merely derived from motives of conscience, exerted themselves with unusual alacrity, doubled and even trebled their contingents; and by their assistance Charles was principally enabled to lead an army in person against the infidels, and expel them from the Austrian dominions. He displayed, however, but little gratitude for this assistance; for he was no sooner relieved from his apprehensions of the Turks, than he encouraged the imperial chamber to recommence its proceedings against the Protestants, under the plea that the agreement of Nuremberg regarded the toleration of religious opinions, and not the possession of ecclesiastical property. The Protestants, roused by these proceedings, again renewed the confederacy of Smalkalde, and their engagements with foreign states; while their active and enterprising chief, the landgrave of Hesse, entered, with a considerable army, into the territories of Wirtemberg, defeated the Austrian troops at Lauffen, and restored the duchy to duke Ulric, who had embraced the Protestant doctrines.

At this juncture the more timid or moderate of the Catholics interfered, and, through their interposition, and the mediation of the elector of Mentz and George duke of Saxony, with the chiefs of the Protestant party, a convention was concluded, on the 29th of July, 1534, at Cadan, in Bohemia. The convention of Nuremberg was renewed and confirmed, and the Protestants acknowledged Ferdinand as king of the Romans. To save the honour of the emperor, the duke of Wirtemberg and the landgrave of Hesse were to demand pardon on their knees; but the duke was allowed to retain possession of his territories on the condition that the duchy should become a mesne fief of the house of Austria, and that he should tolerate all religious opinions. John Frederic, the new elector of Saxony, who

had recently succeeded his father, John the Constant*, and was, like him, attached to the Protestant doctrines, was to receive the investiture of his dominions; and all processes in the imperial chamber, against the Protestants, were to be again suspended. Both parties agreed to exclude from the benefit of this treaty the Sacramentarians, and all other sects who maintained tenets contrary to the confession of Augsburgh and the Roman Catholic church, and particularly to proscribe the Anabaptists, who had revived and re-established their commonwealth at Munster, where they had committed the most dreadful enormities, and given way to every excess which the most abominable licentiousness or the most frantic enthusiasm could inspire.

Chap. XXX. — 1534–1550.

In consequence of this religious truce, Germany for some time remained in a state of dubious peace, interrupted by the continual disputes between the Catholics and Protestants, relative to the proceedings of the imperial chamber, by the reduction of the Anabaptists at Munster, and by a short, but destructive civil war, between the league of Smalkalde and the duke of Brunswick.

From the edict of Worms to the private act of toleration at the diet at Ratisbon, Charles had either granted or withheld liberty of conscience, as he was in friendship or at enmity with the pope and the Turks; yet he never abandoned his design of compelling the Lutherans to return to the church, and considered his occasional concessions only as temporary expedients which he was justified in resuming. With these views, he concluded the peace of Crespy with Francis, on the 18th of September, 1544; and introduced into the treaty a secret article, binding the French monarch to assist in crushing the Lutheran heresy, and in enforcing the decrees of the council which was about to be summoned; and he was, in 1506, relieved from all other

* John the Constant died in 1532.

foreign embarrassments, by the conclusion of a truce for five years, between his brother, as king of Hungary, and Solyman the Magnificent, sultan of the Turks.

Several events had recently happened, which had given great preponderance to the Protestant party. In 1535, on the death of Joachim I., elector of Brandenburgh, who was a zealous Catholic, his son and successor, Joachim II., had introduced the Reformation among his subjects, and his example was followed by Frederic II., elector palatine, who had, in 1556, succeeded his brother Louis. But an innovation of still greater importance was made by Herman, elector and archbishop of Cologne, who had embraced the Reformation, and encouraged its introduction among his subjects. This change the more deeply affected the emperor, as well because it gave the Protestants a majority in the electoral college, as because the diocese of Cologne extended over part of his Burgundian territories. The example also was a dangerous precedent, as it held forth to the ecclesiastical princes the prospect of retaining possession of their dominions, and of acquiring independence and a temporal sovereignty, by embracing and encouraging the new doctrines.

The death of George of Saxony, without issue male, in 1539, was of still greater advantage to the cause of the Reformation. He was the head of the Albertine, or younger branch of the Saxon family, and as margrave of Misnia and Thuringia possessed an extensive territory, comprising Dresden, Leipsic, and other cities, now the most considerable in the electorate. This division of territory occasioned frequent disputes, and set the four branches of the family in almost continual opposition to each other. At the commencement of the Reformation, George had warmly approved the hostility of Luther against the sale of indulgences, but became his most bitter enemy when he extended his attacks to the fundamental doctrines of the church; and from the situation of his territories, was enabled to retard the progress of the Reformation in Saxony. He had proved his attachment to the see of Rome, by resigning his office as a member of the council of regency, when he could not prevail on his colleagues to persecute the Lutherans; and still more by a clause in his will, by which

he bequeathed his territories to the house of Austria, should Henry, his brother and heir, introduce any innovation in religion.

Henry, however, was no less devoted to the Reformation than his brother to the see of Rome, disregarded this bequest, invited Luther and other divines to Leipsic, and, in conformity with their advice, gratified the wishes of his people, as well as his own, by abolishing the established worship. This change gave the Protestants a sincere and ardent friend, instead of an inveterate and powerful enemy; and greatly contributed to strengthen their cause, as the territories of the princes and states attached to the Reformation now extended from the shore of the Baltic to the banks of the Rhine.

At the same time the Catholic body had experienced some diminution of influence and power. Henry, the younger, duke of Brunswick, a zealous Catholic, and not the least considerable of his party, had been driven from his dominions by the league of Smalkalde, for his attempts to invade the liberties of the towns of Goslar and Wolfenbuttel, who were members of the league; and, though privately supported by the emperor, had been defeated and made prisoner by the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse.

The situation of the imperial chamber contributed to keep alive the continual animosity of the two contending sects. The appointments of the members were no longer regularly paid; the Protestants endeavoured to evade its jurisdiction in every instance, by representing civil causes as affairs of religion; and even the Catholics themselves weakened its authority by their unwillingness to submit to a court, of which some of the assessors were Protestants. It was impossible to new model this chamber in such a manner as to satisfy both parties; and thus a tribunal which had been the substitute for the imperial authority, and the great support of public tranquillity, fell into neglect, and Germany was again in danger of relapsing into the same disorder and anarchy, as before the abolition of private warfare, at a time when some predominating power became more necessary than ever.

The Protestants, proud of their increasing numbers

within the empire, and of their alliances without, were not satisfied with less than a toleration of their doctrines, not dependent on temporary expedients, or the gratuitous suspension of penal edicts, but established as a law of the empire. On the other hand, the Catholics, far from being inclined to grant the smallest indulgence, exclaimed against the apparent lukewarmness and concessions of the emperor, and were eager to recover the possessions which had been alienated from the church, and to restore the same uniform system of worship and doctrines which had subsisted before the schism. The Catholics were little united among themselves, and jealous of the emperor; while the Protestants, though not unanimous, formed a more compact and regular body, concurred with the same views, were animated with the same ardour in affairs of religion, and from the spirit of their doctrines and the activity with which they laboured for the accession of new converts, seemed likely to extend the Reformation over all Germany. The crisis, therefore, was now arrived, in which these continual contests threatened to end in the ascendency of the Protestants, unless some powerful hand was able to disunite their party, and arrest their progress.

Charles was anxious to support the Catholics from attachment to the religion of his ancestors, from his interests as king of Spain and sovereign of the Netherlands, and from his desire to recover his authority as emperor; and for these reasons he was determined to exert his whole force in effecting the restoration of the Catholic cause. But duly appreciating the delicacy and difficulty of his situation, he prepared for the contest with his usual foresight, art, and sagacity. Sensible that violent measures would only unite the Protestants, and alienate the most moderate of the Catholics, he endeavoured to adopt such a line of conduct, that to the Protestants he should appear only to prosecute a civil contest, and to the Catholics, to vindicate the honour of the church and of the empire, and compel refractory schismatics to submit their objections to the impartial decisions of a general council. He pursued this plan with unabated perseverance, notwithstanding all the clamours of the zealous Catholics, and all the remonstrances, reproaches, and intrigues of the new pontiff, Paul III., who reprobated

the slightest degree of toleration, and was averse to the interference of a lay prince in ecclesiastical affairs.

Charles at length obtained the consent of the pope to summon a general council at Trent, which, from its vicinity to Germany, and situation on the confines of the Austrian territories, was likely to be under his immediate control; and he was preparing to publish the ban of the empire, and to exert all his power and resources against those who should refuse to submit to its decrees. Meanwhile he was careful to deprive the Protestants of all external support, and assumed such an appearance of moderation and anxiety for peace, as was calculated at the same time to divide the Protestants, and secure the concurrence of the moderate Catholics. He delayed the opening of the council until he had concluded the peace of Crespy with Francis; and between that event and the truce with Solyman, made continual overtures of accommodation, and promoted public conferences between the divines of the two parties. At the same time he endeavoured to disunite the Protestants, by separate negotiations with their chiefs, disclaimed all intentions of abridging their liberty of conscience, and endeavoured to persuade the whole body, and the landgrave of Hesse in particular, to attend the diets of Worms and Ratisbon, which were summoned for the affairs of religion, to send their divines to the council of Trent, and agree to submit to its decrees.

The Protestants, however, continued firm in refusing to acknowledge the council of Trent, because it was to be held under the immediate auspices of the pope, and their own divines were to be far inferior in numbers and influence to those of the Catholics. But their unanimity was limited to this single point; for the members of the Smalkaldic league alone preserved their attachment to their union and principles, while the rest of the Protestant body were wrought upon by the artifices of the emperor, or influenced by mutual jealousies. The electors Palatine and Brandenburgh, the dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburgh, Lunenburgh, and Holstein, preserved a neutrality; and the emperor secured Albert, margrave of Brandenburgh, whose sole view was war and pillage, and, above all, formed a league with Maurice, chief of the Albertine line of Saxony.

Maurice of Saxony, who afterwards bore so conspicuous a part in the history of the Reformation, succeeded his father Henry, in the twentieth year of his age, in the government of those dominions which belonged to the Albertine branch. He was a prince of great civil and military talents, and was equally cool, artful, sagacious, ambitious, and enterprising. As his dominions were intermixed with those of the elector, and as he possessed a joint share of the rich mines of Schwartzwald, their interests were perpetually clashing, and a dispute concerning a small town on the Moldau inflamed their mutual jealousy into open hostilities. A civil war between the two relatives was, however, prevented, as well by the mediation of the landgrave of Hesse, whose daughter Maurice had married, as by the urgent admonitions of Luther. Still their mutual jealousy subsisted; and Maurice, though zealously attached to the Protestant doctrines, pursued a line of conduct totally different from the rest of his party. He refused to accede to the league of Smalkalde, he zealously assisted Ferdinand in Hungary against the Turks, and instead of displaying a perpetual distrust of the emperor's designs, affected to rely on him with implicit confidence, and courted his favour with unceasing assiduity.

Charles, who appreciated the talents and influence of Maurice, and was not unacquainted with his jealousy of the elector, did not omit so favourable an opportunity to divide the powerful family of Saxony, and received all his advances with equal warmth and cordiality. He quieted his scruples by solemn asseverations that he harboured no hostile views against the religion of the Protestants, stimulated his animosity against the elector, and lured his ambition by the prospect of dismembering the electoral dominions, and by other advantageous offers. Maurice yielding to these temptations, concluded a secret treaty with the emperor, which was worded with such ambiguity as to satisfy the consciences or views of both. Maurice promised fidelity and obedience to the emperor and the king of the Romans; and agreed to furnish succours against the refractory princes. He likewise engaged to submit to the decisions of the council of Trent, in the same manner as the other princes of Germany, and to make no further

changes in his territories in regard to religion. In return, the emperor promised to confer on him the advocacy of the two sees of Magdeburgh and Halberstadt, on the condition that he should not interfere in the nomination of a bishop or archbishop; he also permitted the free exercise of the Protestant religion in his dominions, and allowed him to retain the secularised lands and property, until the religious disputes were decided by a general council.

Having thus succeeded in weakening and dividing the Protestants, Charles concluded, in 1546, a league with the pope, by which he was to receive a succour of 13,000 troops, with a considerable subsidy, and the privilege of taking half the church revenues throughout Spain, and of mortgaging the conventual possessions, to the amount of 500,000 ducats. At the same time he ordered a body of troops in the Low Countries to advance towards Germany, levied forces in his hereditary dominions, and distributed commissions for raising men in every part of the empire; while his brother Ferdinand was employed in forming an army in Bohemia and Hungary. He still, however, endeavoured to delude the allies of Smalkalde with the most solemn professions of his pacific intentions, and hoped, from the nature and situation of the league, to surprise the confederates before they could assume a posture of defence.

The relative situation of the different members in some degree justified his hopes. They were filled with mutual jealousies and suspicions; and their last meeting had been a scene of complaint and recrimination: some objecting to the inequality of the contributions; others accusing their leaders of misapplying the common funds; all were slow and reluctant in making their payments; while the elector of Saxony, disgusted with these bickerings and disputes, more than once proposed to suffer the confederacy to dissolve. But this heterogeneous body, which seemed likely to fall to pieces by its own weakness, was suddenly awakened from its lethargy, and roused to a sense of its danger, by the hostile preparations of the emperor; by the king of France, who betrayed his inimical designs; and by the imprudence of the pope, who disclosed the object of his alliance with Charles, and offered absolution to all

who would concur in the extirpation of heresy. The impression these informations occasioned was strengthened by the conduct of the council of Trent, which, instead of proceeding to the purposed reforms of the church, selected and condemned various propositions from the works of Luther as heretical.

These tokens of approaching hostilities, the desertion of Albert of Brandenburgh, and the defection or neutrality of other chiefs, at first disheartened the Protestants, and induced them to implore the mediation of the Catholics, for the purpose of obtaining an accommodation. Their proposal being haughtily rejected, they at length perceived that their safety depended on vigour and unanimity alone, and acted with a spirit and promptitude which was little expected from their former disunion. They required from the emperor a specific avowal of the purpose of his military preparations, and received an answer which fully justified their apprehensions. Charles did not deny his hostile views, though he still affected to veil his purpose, by declaring that he did not take up arms on account of religion, but to quell those refractory spirits who had assembled without a cause, contemned the decrees of the diet, and, by a constant course of violence and oppression, disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the empire. At the same time he sent separate rescripts, conceived in the same terms, to the duke of Wirtemberg, and many of the imperial cities, to detach them from the league, and despatched an ambassador to the reformed states of Switzerland, to prevent them from joining in the contest.

The purport of this answer, and the formidable preparations which accompanied it, being too clear to be misunderstood, the confederates perceived that the only means of preventing an attack was by immediate aggression. But their situation was now most alarming. In addition to their own internal weakness and disunion, they had no prospect of obtaining foreign assistance. The reformed cantons of Switzerland had formerly courted their alliance; and the landgrave of Hesse had entered into a confederacy with Bern and Zurich; yet an union was prevented by the bigotry of Luther, and by the fanaticism of the elector of Saxony, who refused to make a common cause with the

Sacramentarians. The landgrave was thus compelled to recede from his engagements; and the reformed cantons being worsted at the battle of Cappel, in which Zuingle was killed, had now in their turn neither power nor inclination to assist the Lutherans. Francis I. also was declining in health, had lost his vigour and activity, and being relieved from a war which had exhausted his country, beheld Charles preparing for hostilities without tendering any effectual support, till it was too late to check his progress. Henry VIII., who, though he had withdrawn from the church of Rome, used religion principally as a cover to his amorous or ambitious designs, declined interfering in favour of the Protestant cause, except on terms which would have rendered him the director of the league; and the kings of Denmark and Sweden were too much engaged in maintaining themselves on their thrones to assist the Protestants of Germany.

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, the threats of Charles were attended with an effect far different from his expectations. The members of the league suspended their disputes, and acted with a decision, unanimity, and celerity which were scarcely less astonishing to themselves than to the emperor. They published a declaration of hostilities, on the 20th of July, 1546; and the forces of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse uniting at Memmingen, advanced towards the Danube. At the same time the troops of the Protestant cities, under Schartlin, one of the most experienced generals of the age, after dispersing the imperial levies and threatening the Tyrol, joined those of Wirtemberg at Guntzburgh, and directed their march towards Ratisbon, where the emperor was holding the diet. The force of the allies, after completing their junction, formed an army of 80,000 men, the most complete and best appointed that had ever before been assembled by the states of Germany.

From these rapid and unexpected movements, and the union of so formidable a body, Charles found himself in the same embarrassed situation to which he expected to reduce the Protestant league. He was shut up in a town little capable of defence, with a force scarcely exceeding

8000 men: not a single Catholic prince or state came forward to his assistance; the duke of Bavaria, in whose dominions he was inclosed, began to waver, and the elector palatine and other Protestants, of whose neutrality he deemed himself secure, sent succours to the league, under the name of auxiliaries. The papal troops had scarcely begun their march; the forces in the Netherlands were not yet in motion; and his brother Ferdinand was detained in Bohemia, by the reluctance of his subjects to take part against the elector of Saxony.

In this critical situation, Charles acted with equal intrepidity and address. While the allied troops were advancing, he published the ban of the empire against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; circulated a report that the duke of Bavaria was preparing to avenge the violation of his territories; and, before the allied troops had completed their junction, retired to the strong post of Landshut, from whence he could equally receive succours from Italy and the hereditary countries of the house of Austria. Fortunately for Charles, he was no less favoured by the divisions among the Protestants than by his own address and courage. Had the combined forces advanced to Landshut, they would soon have dissipated the imperial troops, which did not now exceed 10,000 men. They sent, indeed, a letter of diffidation, in which they renounced their allegiance, and contemptuously styled the emperor the high and mighty prince Charles, who assumes the title of Charles V.; but their operations were checked by disputes for precedency, and they wasted the time in acrimonious reproaches and fruitless consultations.

In consequence of these delays, Charles was enabled to receive reinforcements, and was joined by the papal auxiliaries, and by 6000 Spaniards from Naples and Milan. With these timely reinforcements he quitted his position at Landshut, threw a garrison into Ratisbon, and advancing to Ingoldstadt, entrenched himself so strongly under the walls, that the allies did not venture to attack him. Being at length joined by the Flemish troops, who, under the skilful conduct of Maximilian de Buren, had baffled all the vigilance of the allies, he commenced offensive operations, made himself master of Neuburgh, Donawerth, and Dillenburgh

before the close of September, and spread such an alarm to Ulm and Augsburgh, that the first recalled Schartlin with its contingent, and the second was succoured with a garrison of above 4000 troops detached from the main army.

The emperor was prevented, by want of money and provisions, from pursuing his success with the same spirit as he had begun, till a sudden and dangerous diversion broke the confederacy, and enabled him to keep the field. In consequence of the secret convention with the emperor, Maurice of Saxony had refused to join the allies; but he did not venture to provoke their resentment as long as they maintained the superiority. Concealing his intentions with refined artifice and dissimulation, he remained quiet till the emperor had gained the ascendency; and then, throwing off the mask, burst into the electorate of Saxony, as well under pretence of executing the ban of the empire, as of preventing the dominions of his ancestors from falling into the hands of strangers. At the same time Ferdinand made an irruption on the side of Bohemia, and in less than two months the whole electorate, except Gotha, Eisenach, and Wittemberg, was occupied by Maurice.

This diversion occasioned the separation of the Protestant army. After some deliberation, the confederates agreed to divide their forces: 9000 men were left for the defence of the duchy of Wirtemberg, and the imperial cities in Suabia; part returned to their respective homes; and the elector of Saxony, with the remainder, hastened to the recovery of his own dominions. The separation of the army occasioned the ruin of the confederacy; each member was only anxious to secure the most favourable terms of submission, and Charles did not allow them time to recover from their consternation. Notwithstanding the lateness of the season, he instantly put his army in motion; extorted the submission of the duke of Wirtemberg, reduced Ulm and Augsburgh with the imperial cities in Suabia, and even Strasburgh and Frankfort, though so remote from the scene of danger. At the commencement of the ensuing year he compelled them to accept the most humiliating conditions, and to pay enormous fines; required them to deliver their artillery and warlike stores, to admit his gar-

risons, to renounce the league of Smalkalde, and furnish assistance against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; and, in this disarmed and dependent situation to wait his final award. He forced also the elector palatine again to submit to his authority, and compelled the elector of Cologne to abdicate his dignity. He thus dissipated part of the formidable league, which a few months before had threatened his ruin and the subversion of the Catholic religion, and saw the majority either acting as his allies, or reduced to the most abject submission.

The elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse were now the only Protestants who remained in arms, or who possessed either the inclination or the power to vindicate their cause; but, deserted by their allies, they were ill able to cope with the superior force of the emperor supported by the Catholic body. The immediate and total ruin of the Protestant cause was, however, prevented by a series of events no less fortunate than extraordinary. The influence of the Protestants had excited such discontents in Bohemia, and even among the troops of Ferdinand, that he was compelled to withdraw from Saxony. The elector was thus enabled to turn his whole force against Maurice, who had dispersed his troops into winter quarters, and not only recovered the electorate, but defeated and made prisoner Albert of Brandenburgh, who had been despatched by the emperor to the assistance of Maurice, with 7000 men. He then invaded the dominions of Maurice, and captured all the towns except Leipsic and Dresden, overrun the sees of Magdeburgh and Halberstadt, and reduced Maurice to petition for an armistice of a month. His successes encouraging the Protestant party in Bohemia, even the states of that kingdom assembled in open rebellion against Ferdinand, and voted succours in men and money for his support.

Charles had been too much occupied in subjugating the other members of the Smalkaldic league to afford timely assistance to Maurice, and he had no sooner dictated terms of peace to the duke of Wirtemberg than he was again checked by a new combination, which, as usual, had been formed in consequence of his success. Francis I. was the soul of this league, and had gained the co-operation of the

English ministry who governed during the minority of Edward VI., and of Gustavus Vasa, the great supporter of the Protestant doctrines in the north. He levied troops in all quarters, remitted considerable sums to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, contracted for auxiliaries with the Swiss cantons, gained the Venetians, and stimulated even the sultan to break the truce, and invade the dominions of Ferdinand. But, above all, he succeeded in inflaming the jealousy of Paul III., who was alienated by the contests with the emperor for the possession of Parma and Placentia, and was disgusted with his apparent lukewarmness in extirpating the Lutheran party.

The first fatal effects of this league arose from the conduct of the pope, who revoked the permission he had given for alienating the property of the church in Spain, and suddenly recalled his troops into Italy, under the pretence that they had served the stipulated six months. In consequence of this defection, Charles, who in the confidence of victory had weakened his forces by the dismission of his Flemish troops, was under the necessity of suspending his military operations. He advanced, however, into Bohemia, to assist in repressing the malecontents, and prepared to avail himself of the change of circumstances which the declining health of Francis I. seemed likely to produce.

The two German princes, who were solely exposed to the vengeance of Charles, acted, during this important interval, with inconceivable apathy. Instead of uniting their troops, assisting the refractory Bohemians, and taking advantage of the difficulties in which the emperor was involved, the landgrave concentrated his forces for the defence of his own territories, which were threatened on the side of the Low Countries, and the elector of Saxony wasted the time in indecisive measures and fruitless deliberations. In this emergency the good fortune of Charles again prevailed, and the death of Francis on the 13th of April, relieved him from the dread and danger of an hostile attack on all quarters. With his usual promptitude and energy he improved this favourable circumstance, and the news of his rival's decease was the signal for his march. Being joined at Egra by Ferdinand and Maurice, he advanced with 35,000 men against the elector, who, little

apprehending an attack, had dispersed his army in cantonments, and, with 9000 men, was posted behind the Elbe at Meissen, to maintain a communication with the Bohemian malecontents. The small and open towns, which he had garrisoned with the hope of retarding the progress of an enemy, surrendered without resistance, and Charles had already reached the opposite bank of the Elbe before the elector would give credit to the news of his approach. In this extremity he behaved with more than his usual weakness and indecision: at one time he relied on the strength of his position, called in his detachments, and determined to oppose the passage of the enemy; and then, abandoning that resolution, broke down the bridge, and marched along the east bank towards Wittemberg, where he hoped to defend himself, and wait for succours from the Protestant states in the north of Germany. Even this resolution he did not maintain; for, leaving a detachment at Muhlberg, to check the passage of the imperialists, he encamped in the neighbourhood, in order to wait the event.

Charles perceived the weakness and indecision of the elector, and hastened to crush an enemy who might recover from his consternation, and to whom the smallest delay would bring an accession of strength. He followed his movements, and, arriving at Muhlberg on the 24th of April, made preparations to force a passage, although the Saxons occupied the highest bank, and the river, which was three hundred paces in breadth and four feet in depth, ran with a rapid current. Undismayed by these obstacles, the emperor assembled his officers, and issued orders for the passage, in opposition to the remonstrances of the duke of Alva and Maurice of Saxony, the most enterprising generals of the age. The event justified his resolution: while a bridge of boats was constructing under the fire of the Spanish and Italian infantry, the emperor, with the cavalry and men-at-arms, crossed the river by a ford, and dispersed without difficulty the Saxon detachment. At this moment a thick fog, which had concealed his movements, was dissipated, and the sun shone forth with a splendour which encouraged the imperialists, while it disheartened the enemy. Charles, with the cavalry and light troops followed the elector, who had commenced his retreat to-

wards Wittemberg, and after a skirmish of three hours, arrested his march in the wood of Luchau. Here the elector, perceiving that he could not avoid an engagement, made the best preparations that time and circumstances would allow, and acted with a spirit and presence of mind as remarkable as his former weakness and irresolution. But all his efforts were ineffectual. After a desperate shock his troops were broken by the irresistible impulse of the imperial cavalry, who were animated by the presence and exertions of the emperor. The elector, at the head of a chosen band, gave the highest proofs of personal courage, and endeavoured to cut his way through the enemy and retire into the forest; till at length, surrounded on all sides, exhausted with fatigue, and wounded in the face, he surrendered himself a prisoner, and was conducted to the emperor, who was standing on the field of battle, and listening to the congratulations of his officers.

Charles, in receiving his illustrious captive, displayed the mean spirit of revenge, instead of the proud magnanimity of a conqueror. As the elector advanced to kiss his hand, and said, "Most powerful and gracious emperor, the fortune of war has now rendered me your prisoner, and I hope to be treated ——" Charles interrupted him by indignantly exclaiming, "I am *now* your gracious emperor! lately you could only vouchsafe me the title of Charles of Ghent!" and, turning away abruptly, consigned him to the custody of a Spanish general.

The victory was purchased with an inconsiderable loss; while the Saxon army was totally dispersed, except a small corps, who, under the command of the electoral prince, effected a retreat to Wittemberg. After resting two days on the field of battle, as well to refresh his troops as to receive the submission of the neighbouring towns, Charles advanced to Wittemberg to terminate the war by the reduction of the capital. That town being resolutely defended by Isabella of Cleves, the wife of the elector, he brought his illustrious captive to a trial before a court-martial, composed of Spanish and Italian officers, presided by the relentless duke of Alva; and from such a tribunal procured his instant condemnation. The elector himself received the sentence without emotion, and at first refused

to give orders for the surrender of Wittemberg, as the price of his life; but he was melted by the distress of his wife and the entreaties of his family, and finally acquiesced in terms which were dictated by the emperor. He agreed to yield the electoral dignity, to surrender Wittemberg and Gotha, and to submit to the decrees of the imperial chamber; he promised also to conclude no league without the consent of the emperor, and the king of the Romans, and to liberate Albert of Brandenburgh without ransom. In return, his life was to be spared; he was to retain the city and district of Gotha, and to receive an annual pension of 50,000 florins *, but he was still to remain a prisoner. Yet, although he acquiesced in these humiliating conditions without a murmur, neither threats nor entreaties could shake his fidelity to his faith; and he inflexibly refused to submit to the mandates of the pope, and to the decrees of a council in regard to the controverted points of religion.

Charles then made a triumphal entry into Wittemberg, and conducted himself with more apparent magnanimity than he had before displayed. He felt, or affected to feel, displeasure at the suspension of divine service according to the Lutheran ritual; and observed, "They are mistaken if they do this to give me pleasure. There has been no change of religion in other states, why should there be any here?" He also visited the tomb of Luther, whom death had recently delivered from the calamities which befel his sect and country; and when urged to dishonour the ashes of the reformer, replied, "I war not with the dead, but with the living; suffer him to repose in peace; he is already before his judge!"

Charles now rewarded Maurice for his beneficial assistance and perfidious desertion of the Protestant cause, by putting him in possession of all the electoral dominions, except Gotha, and promising to invest him with the electoral dignity at the ensuing diet.

The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the last member of the Smalkaldic league who remained in arms, was terrified by the ruin of the elector, and saw himself exposed singly to

* The pension was afterwards commuted for the districts of Jena and Weimar, which Maurice yielded to the deposed elector, when he was put in possession of the electoral dominions.

all the power and vengeance of the conqueror, without the smallest hope of assistance. He was, therefore, induced to accept the mediation of his son-in-law, Maurice, and the elector of Brandenburgh, and to make an unconditional submission. Though he justly dreaded the vengeful spirit of Charles, he was prevailed upon to trust to his clemency by the positive assurances of the two mediators, who, on the faith of private promises from the emperor and his ministers, became sureties that he should not be detained a prisoner, and even gave a bond, by which they agreed to deliver themselves up to the custody of his family, should their engagements be violated. Influenced by these considerations, the landgrave submitted to the principal articles dictated by Charles; he was allowed to retain his territories on the condition of demolishing all his fortresses, except Ziegenhain or Cassel, the garrison of which was to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor. He agreed also to surrender his artillery and ammunition; to set at liberty Henry of Brunswick, and his other prisoners; and to pay a fine of 150,000 crowns. Besides these articles, the emperor foisted into the treaty two new conditions; by the first of which he reserved to himself the right of interpreting disputable points, and by the second bound the landgrave to obey the decrees of the council of Trent; but this infamous artifice failed of effect, for he was compelled by the remonstrances of the mediators to retract the first, and to explain away all the force of the second.

The conditions being arranged, the landgrave was introduced to the emperor, in the imperial camp on the 19th of June, 1547, at Halle in Saxony, and experienced the same degrading reception as the elector. Kneeling before the throne, he made an humble confession of his crime, and resigned himself and his dominions to the clemency of his sovereign, but as he rose to kiss the emperor's hand, Charles turned from him with contempt; and he was conducted as a prisoner by the elector of Brandenburgh and Maurice to the apartments of the duke of Alva in the castle.

Both the landgrave and his mediators now expected that he would be restored to liberty, but they found themselves duped by the ambiguous expressions of Charles, who dis-

claimed all ties, except written engagements, and detained him in custody.* Notwithstanding the repeated and urgent remonstrances of the mediating princes, he persisted in his resolution, and insulted the Germanic body, and the Protestant states in particular, by leading two of the most powerful princes from city to city, and rendering them public spectacles of his own triumph, and the humiliation of the fallen party.

Having thus succeeded in crushing the league of Smalkalde, he proceeded in his meditated plan of re-uniting the Protestants to the church, and with this view he summoned the diet of Augsburgh, and exhorted both parties to submit the religious disputes to a general council. He found, as usual, a ready assent from the Catholics, and, after some difficulty, extorted, by threats, intrigues, or promises, the acquiescence of the Protestants. But he experienced the greatest opposition from the head of that church of which he had been so able a defender. The same motives which led the pope to re-unite with the king of France, in opposition to the emperor, had induced him to remove the council from Trent to Bologna, under pretence of a pestilential distemper; although the divines of the imperial party still contiued their sittings, and maintained the form of a council at Trent. The misunderstanding was still further increased by the contests for the possession of Parma and Placentia.† In consequence of this misunder-

* The partisans of Charles attempt to exculpate this perfidious breach of his promise, by urging that he duped the mediators by ambiguous assurances; and that his ministers secretly substituted a word in the treaty which entirely changed its import, before it was ratified by the landgrave, namely, "ewiger gefangness," which signifies perpetual imprisonment, for "einiger gefangness," which signifies any imprisonment. It was in consequence of this mean subterfuge that Charles refused to abide by any but written engagements. This apology dishonours the cause which it is intended to support, and aggravates the disgrace of a breach of faith by the meanest and most infamous chicanery. See Schmidt, who attempts to justify the conduct of Charles, b. ix. c. 17.

† Parma and Placentia were originally imperial cities, and, on the decline of the empire, had been claimed by the popes, as forming part of the exarchate of Ravenna. During the contests between the Guelphs and Ghibelines, they had passed under the government of different families, and had finally been appropriated by John Galeas

standing, the pope obstinately rejected all the overtures of Charles, and refused to renew the council at Trent, although he knew that the real purpose of that assembly was to crush the Lutheran party.

Foiled in this attempt, Charles brought forward a temporary expedient to maintain the peace of Germany, without relinquishing his design of restoring the Catholic religion. With this view he detailed to the diet his endeavours to obtain the renewal of the general council, and the refusal of the pope; and proposed to both parties to submit to his decision the arrangement of religious affairs, till a general council should be summoned. By address and affected deference he gained the concurrence of the Protestants as well as of the Catholics; and after employing the assistance of two Catholic bishops, and Agricola, a Protestant divine, in the service of the elector of Brandenburgh*, he arranged a formulary of twenty-six articles, which is known by the name of the Interim. This system

Visconti, duke of Milan. They fell into the hands of the French, on the conquest of the Milanese, and, on their expulsion, were annexed to the domains of the church by Julius II., with the consent of Maximilian, but without prejudice to the rights of the empire. Francis I., on reconquering the Milanese, extorted these cities from Leo; but they were again restored to the church on the recovery of the Milanese. Paul III. conferred them (1545) as a duchy, and fief of the church, on his natural son Peter Louis Farnese; and Charles, who was embarrassed with the affairs of Germany, did not oppose this disposition, and even gave his natural daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Octavio, son of Peter Louis.

The assassination of Peter Louis (1547) renewed the dispute for the sovereignty of these cities. Placentia threw itself under the protection of the emperor; and Parma maintained its fidelity to the family of Farnese. The pope, with a view to recover Placentia, claimed the two cities as fiefs of the church, took possession of Parma, and proposed to indemnify his grandson by the grant of other territories. Octavio, however, was dissatisfied with his grandfather, and threw himself under the protection of the emperor, but could not obtain the restitution of Placentia. Soon after the death of Paul III., the new pope, Julius III., from gratitude to the family of Farnese, to whom he owed his elevation, restored Parma to Octavio (1550). Muratori, ad. an. 1547-1550.

* Joachim II., elector of Brandenburgh, who, among the Protestants, principally concurred in the formation and establishment of the Interim, was gained by the emperor, with the hopes of securing the reversion of the see of Magdeburgh for one of his sons.

was conformable in almost every respect to the doctrines and worship of the Roman Catholic church, but conceived in the most artful and ambiguous terms; a pretext was reserved for resuming the alienated property of the church, by passing it over in silence; and although the Protestants were allowed to receive the communion under both kinds, and married priests authorised to continue the performance of the sacred functions, yet these concessions were liable to be revoked by the decision of a general council.

After in vain submitting this project for the approbation of the pope, he caused it to be read in the diet, on the 15th of May, 1548, as a measure calculated to hasten the union of the church, and restore the peace of Germany. It was received by both parties with sullen acquiescence; the Protestants perceiving that the concessions were merely nominal and temporary; and the Catholics being disgusted with the interference of the emperor, in matters of discipline, and dissatisfied with the privileges, however trifling, which were granted to the Protestants. The emperor afterwards produced to the diet a project for reforming the abuses of the church, and proceeded to new-model the imperial chamber, by excluding the Protestants from all charges in that tribunal.

At the dissolution of the diet he required the states to assist at the council, as soon as it should be re-established at Trent; agreed that all points should be examined and settled according to the Scripture and the doctrine of the fathers; and promised that the Protestant divines should be received as favourably as those of the other communion. He then employed the short time of his residence in Germany, to enforce by his presence and exertions the acceptance of the Interim. By threats and promises he obtained the acquiescence of most of the Protestant princes; but the imperial cities boldly resisted its introduction. He therefore began with punishing those whose situation most exposed them to the force of his arms. At Augsburgh and Ulm he deposed the Lutheran magistrates, abolished the communities, and changed the form of government; he then marched against Strasburgh, which submitted on his approach, and issued the ban of the empire against Constance and Magdeburgh on the 15th of October, 1548.

Constance was soon afterwards reduced by Ferdinand, and re-annexed to his hereditary dominions; and these severe examples spread such terror through the other cities, that none ventured to maintain their resistance, except Magdeburgh, which relied on the strength of its fortifications, and Bremen, Hamburgh, and Lubeck, which were situated at the further extremity of Germany, and encouraged by their vicinity to the Protestant states on the Baltic.

Charles was prevented from exerting his authority against these refractory cities by the affairs of the Low Countries, and of Italy. In the former he was employed in attempting to introduce the inquisition, and in obtaining the acknowledgment of his son Philip, as his successor, by the states; and in Italy by his contests for Parma and Placentia. Though foiled in his attempts to introduce the inquisition into the Low Countries, Charles obtained the acknowledgment of his son Philip as his successor. In Italy also, the death of Paul III. enabled him to retain possession of Placentia; and having gained the new pope, Julius III., by engaging that the future council should not introduce any reformation contrary to his will, he was enabled to establish his family in the Milanese, by rendering it revertible to females, in failure of issue male to his son Philip.

As he had now no other object to divert his attention, he obtained from the pope a bull for the convocation of a council at Trent, and from Henry II. of France, a promise to acknowledge and support its decisions. He then repaired to Germany, with a view to enforce the observance of the Interim, which had been opposed or neglected during his absence, and to prepare for the meeting of the council. The success which he had recently experienced encouraged him also to hope for the fulfilment of all his schemes of aggrandisement; and he brought his son Philip into Germany, in order to present him to the diet, and to obtain for him the reversion of the imperial crown, either by the resignation of Ferdinand, or at least by procuring a promise of his future nomination on the accession or death of his brother.

It must be confessed that Charles had many reasons to flatter himself with complete success; for he had crushed

the league of Smalkalde, humbled and disarmed the Protestants, imposed his own terms of religion, secured the concurrence of the pope, and the acquiescence of France, and saw in the diet an assembly which met only to receive his decrees. The uninterrupted success of the emperor, however, had effected a change no less in the minds of others than of his own; it had alienated his friends and alarmed his enemies; while it had rendered him presumptuous, unfeeling, and implacable. The Protestants beheld their conqueror with disgust and indignation, and foresaw, from all his proceedings, the inevitable loss of that temporary and slight degree of toleration with which they had been indulged under the Interim. The Catholics were alarmed with his despotic designs and overbearing conduct, and began to perceive that, in assisting to crush the Protestants, they were preparing to give themselves a master; while the spectacle of the two unfortunate princes detained in unjust captivity, and led about with all the insolence of triumph, had excited compassion even in the breasts of those who were animated by the spirit of party or religious antipathy.

Charles opened the diet at Augsburgh on the 26th of July, 1550, with all the parade of a conqueror, and surrounded with a military force sufficient to awe the states into compliance. He required the diet to acknowledge the intended council at Trent, and to promise submission to its decrees. He also demanded their support to enforce the acceptation of the Interim, and full powers to decide relative to the restitution of ecclesiastical property. As before he experienced the most complete acquiescence in all his demands, except a short, and, perhaps, feigned opposition, from Maurice; who withdrew his protest, on the promise of the emperor to give the Protestants a safe conduct, a share in the council, and a free hearing. It was also agreed to enforce the ban of the empire against Magdeburgh; and the command of the troops for that service, with a considerable subsidy, was conferred on Maurice, as director of the circle of Lower Saxony. The only disappointment which Charles experienced in all his views, was the failure of his attempt to procure the dignity of king of the Romans for his son Philip, first, by the opposition of Ferdi-

nand, and afterwards by the refusal of the electors, who declined making a promise which they considered as illegal, and as tending to render the imperial crown hereditary. But he was too sanguine and persevering to relinquish his design from this single failure; and prepared to resume it when he had punished the refractory cities, and reduced those who opposed his views to submission.

Chap. XXXI.—1550–1555.

The surrender of Madgeburgh, which, after a siege of ten months, yielded to the victorious arms of Maurice, left no enemy in the empire unsubdued; and Charles exultingly looked forward to the accomplishment of his long-meditated plans of aggrandisement. He retired to Innspruck, on the 8th of November, 1551, from whence, as a central point, he could at once direct the affairs of Germany and Italy, influence the council of Trent, and superintend the movements of his vast and complicated system. But, at the moment when he seemed most certain of success, all his schemes were baffled by the defection of the very prince to whose rise he had himself contributed, and by whose assistance he had been principally enabled to depress the Protestants, and to raise his own authority on the ruins of the civil and religious rights of the empire.

Maurice had no sooner secured the investiture of the electorate, wrested from his deposed cousin, than he beheld, with jealousy, the overgrown power of the emperor, and was anxious to restore the liberties of the Germanic body, of which, by this acquisition, he was become the principal member. He could not also be insensible, that the views of Charles ultimately extended to the extermination of the Protestant doctrines, to which he was sincerely attached, and he dreaded his award in the restitution of the confiscated ecclesiastical property, of which he retained so considerable a share. His pride and sensibility were also deeply wounded by the unfeeling contempt with which the emperor had received his earnest exhortations in favour of

his father-in-law, the landgrave of Hesse, who was still detained in the most rigorous confinement.

The favourable moment seemed now arrived in which he might indulge the hope of wiping away the reproach occasioned by his former apostacy, and liberate himself and his co-estates from the degrading servitude to which they were reduced; for Charles had been some time occupied in a new war in Italy, for the possession of Parma and Placentia*, and Ferdinand was threatened by a powerful army, under Solyman himself. But, although secure of a considerable party among the Protestants, particularly the dukes of Mecklenburgh and Wirtemberg, and the margrave of Brandenburgh, he was too cautious to imitate the impolitic patriotism of the Smalkaldic league, by engaging in a war against the head of the house of Austria with only German confederates. He therefore entered into an alliance with Henry II. of France, and concluded a treaty, by which he obtained large subsidies, and the promise of co-operation on the side of Loraine.

Maurice carried on all these intrigues, and matured his preparations with such consummate address and secresy as to deceive Charles, and to lull even his experienced ministers into security. He protracted the siege of Magdeburgh till the commencement of the winter; and in the capitulation gave such terms as publicly appeared to satisfy the honour of the emperor, while he privately conciliated the burghers, by promising not to destroy the fortifications, nor to enforce the reception of the Interim, and other rigorous conditions which Charles required. When the surrender of Magdeburgh deprived him of a pretext for retaining his troops under arms, he disbanded the

* Pope Julius, after restoring Parma to Ottavio Farnese, quickly repented of his generosity, and endeavoured to revoke his gift. Ottavio, thus threatened by his former benefactor, and bereft of Placentia by his father-in-law, threw himself under the protection of Henry II. of France. A bloody war accordingly took place in Italy, between the pope and the emperor on one side, and France and the duke of Parma on the other, which was not terminated till after the abdication of Charles. Philip restored Placentia to Ottavio (1527); and the two cities, with their dependent districts, devolved on his son Alexander Farnese, who so highly distinguished himself in the service of Spain. — Muratori.

Saxons, whom he could recall at a moment's warning, but still kept at his disposal the veteran troops who had reduced Magdeburgh, and even the garrison which had so bravely defended the town, by placing them in the nominal service of his creature, prince George of Mecklenburgh. He amused the emperor, to whom, perhaps, the slowness of the siege had given some suspicion, by requesting a personal interview, to explain his recent transactions; and perplexed his attention by negotiations relative to the safe conduct for his divines who were to assist at the council. Carrying his duplicity to the utmost degree of refinement, he even ordered them to proceed towards Trent, and gave directions to prepare a lodging for his own reception, at Innspruck.

All things being matured for the execution of his design, Maurice threw off the mask. At the very moment when Charles was expecting his arrival as a friend and ally, he abandoned his pretended journey to Innspruck, suspended the progress of his divines towards Trent, collected his own forces in Thuringia, effected a junction with those of Hesse and Brandenburgh, and, taking the route of Nordheim and Donawerth, appeared at the head of 25,000 men, before the gates of Augsburgh. During this march he announced his hostile intentions, by publishing a manifesto on the 1st of April, 1552, in which he declared that his motives for taking arms were alone to prevent the destruction of the Protestant religion; to maintain the constitution, laws, and liberties of Germany, which the emperor had infringed; and to rescue the landgrave of Hesse from his long and unjust imprisonment. This was followed by a similar, but more violent declaration, from the margrave of Brandenburgh. At the same time the king of France also issued a manifesto, styling himself the protector of the liberties of Germany, and defender of its captive princes; and asserting that he commenced hostilities at the desire of some of the most illustrious members of the Germanic body. He followed this declaration by invading Loraine, captured Toul, Verdun, and Metz, and making an irruption into Alsace, threatened Strasburgh.

On the other hand the arms of Maurice were not less

successful; Augsburgh readily surrendered, and Nuremberg, with the principal towns of Suabia, hastened to join the confederacy. Maurice was received as the guardian of civil and religious liberty; the magistrates deposed by the emperor were reinstated, and the churches restored to the ministers whom he had ejected. Thus in less than a month the Protestant party was again rendered predominant in the empire, and the Catholics either reduced to a neutrality, or secretly favouring the cause of a prince whom they considered as a protector against the ambitious designs of their chief. The alarm occasioned by this irruption spread as far as Trent; the German prelates returned home; the legate, who had delayed the proceedings of the council, seized this favourable opportunity for effecting its separation; and a decree was passed for proroguing its meeting for two years, or till the return of peace.

Astonished and confounded by this unexpected revolution, Charles saw himself threatened by a formidable combination, at the moment when he was enfeebled by a severe attack of the gout, when his treasury was exhausted, and his principal forces dispersed in Hungary, Italy, and the Low Countries. He had no other resource except delay; and while he despatched the few troops which were at his immediate disposal, to secure the passes of the Tyrol, he employed his brother Ferdinand to enter into a negotiation. But he was opposed by a prince who was no less adroit than himself, and who was sensible that the success of his enterprise depended on vigour, celerity, and decision. Maurice ordered his army, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburgh, to draw towards the Tyrol, while he hastened to Lintz, and on the 1st of May, held a conference with the king of the Romans. Affecting great readiness to conclude an accommodation, he agreed to enter into an immediate armistice, provided he could obtain the concurrence of his allies, and consented to hold another conference at Passau on the 26th.

But he had no sooner rejoined his army at Gundelfingen, than he declared that his allies disapproved an immediate armistice, and proposed another of fifteen days, to commence from the 26th, the day of the intended meeting at Passau. Availing himself of this short but important

interval, he advanced to the foot of the Alps, dislodged the imperialists from Fuessen, defeated them at Reuti, with the loss of 1000 men, and on the 19th of May, took, by storm, the important post of Ehrenberg, which was defended by a garrison of 3000 men. Being thus master of the passes, and within only two days march of Innspruck, he would have surprised the emperor, had not his progress been delayed by a dangerous mutiny of some mercenaries.

Charles received the alarming news late in the evening, and after liberating the deposed elector, made his escape on the 20th of May, a few hours before the enemy entered the city; he was conveyed, in a litter, across the mountains, by roads almost impassable, in a dark and stormy night, and arrived, with his dejected train, at Villach, in Carinthia.

Maurice gave up the property of the emperor, at Innspruck, to pillage, and then hastened to meet Ferdinand at Passau, where the imperial ambassadors, the duke of Bavaria, the bishops of Saltzburgh, Eichstadt, and Passau, the ministers from the absent electors, and deputies from the chief princes, cities, and towns were assembled. Ferdinand, as representative of his brother, and Maurice, in the name of the Protestant body, opened the negotiation, under the mediation of the princes and ministers who were present. Maurice reiterated his former demands for the liberation of the landgrave, the redress of civil grievances, and the toleration of the Protestant religion. But, notwithstanding the embarrassed situation of the emperor, nothing could bend his inflexible temper, till the mediating princes, both Catholic and Protestant, declared that they would enter into a separate negotiation for their own safety; and Maurice, renewing the war, laid siege to Frankfort.

At length the alarming progress of the Turks in Hungary, the hope of avenging the aggressions of the French, the ill success of the war in Italy, induced the emperor to listen to the earnest solicitations of Ferdinand and the mediating powers, and he reluctantly concluded with the Protestants, on the 2d of August, 1552, the celebrated treaty or pacification of Passau. The landgrave was to

be immediately restored to liberty; the confederate princes were either to disband their troops, or suffer them to enter into the pay of Ferdinand; and a diet was to be held within six months for the settlement of the civil and religious grievances. In the mean time, no prince or state of the empire was to do violence to any person who adhered to the confession of Augsburgh, nor the Catholics to be disturbed by the Protestants; the imperial chamber was to administer justice impartially to persons of both religions, and Protestants as well as Catholics were to be admitted as members of that tribunal. It was also agreed, that if the ensuing diet failed in establishing an uniformity of doctrine and worship, these stipulations in favour of the Protestants should, notwithstanding, remain in full force for ever.

On the conclusion of the peace of Passau, Maurice, and some of the other Protestant princes, marched into Hungary against the Turks; and Charles, anxious to wipe away his recent disgrace, collected a considerable army, and, in November, 1552, penetrating into Loraine, laid siege to Metz, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year. From this period, however, fortune forsook him, and almost all his enterprises failed of success. His army, exhausted by the resistance of the besieged, thinned by the severity of the season, and a contagious distemper, mouldered away, and, at the close of the year, after boasting that he would take Metz, or perish in the attempt, he was compelled to raise the siege, with the loss of 30,000 men. In the Low Countries, after the capture of Therouenne, and a few trifling successes, his army was defeated at Reuti, and the provinces of Luxemburgh, Hainault, and Cambray devastated by the French. In Italy he lost the ascendency which he had long held: his necessities compelled him to mortgage to Cosmo de' Medici the important principality of Piombino; the coasts of Calabria, and even Naples itself, were threatened by a Turkish fleet; and finally, in May, 1555, his inveterate enemy, pope Paul IV., joined with France in a league for the conquest of Naples.

In Germany, tranquillity was not restored by the pacification of Passau. Albert of Brandenburgh, refusing to

accept the conditions of the treaty, carried on a predatory warfare against the Catholic princes, and extorted from the bishops of Bamburgh and Wurtzburgh engagements for the payment of considerable sums of money. For the sake of securing his assistance against the French, Charles approved these nefarious transactions, and, on the retreat from Metz, Albert again retiring into Germany, recommenced his predatory warfare. Charles affected to condemn these excesses, and to revoke his approbation of the treaties; but so low was he reduced, and so unpopular was he become, that he was suspected by the Protestants, and even by his brother Ferdinand, of encouraging Albert, with the hope of renewing his schemes for the transfer of the imperial crown, by the revival of the civil troubles. At length Albert was put under the ban of the empire, by the imperial chamber, and the execution intrusted to Maurice of Saxony, on the 9th of July, 1553. He was defeated at Sevenhausen by Maurice, who received a mortal wound in the battle, and soon afterwards closed his short and memorable career. Albert having experienced a second defeat from the duke of Brunswick on the 12th of September, was driven from Germany, and his dominions sequestered.*

The death of Maurice removed a prince who had been the great obstacle to all the designs of Charles. As he left no issue male, the succession to the electorate, and to his other dominions, was claimed by his brother Augustus, and by the deposed elector, John Frederic, and the tranquillity of Germany seemed likely to be again disturbed. The eyes of all were directed to Charles, who was expected to seize so favourable an opportunity of renewing his ambitious designs; but he proved the injustice of these suspicions, or at least evinced his growing disgust at the ill success of all his schemes, by leaving the decision of this affair to the two interested princes, and to his brother Ferdinand. After a short negotiation a family compact was concluded, in virtue of which Augustus was invested with the electorate and the greater part of his brother's dominions; and a small part of the territory, with the sum

* He died at Sforzheim in 1557, and his sequestered dominions were given to his nephew, George Frederic, margrave of Anspach.

of 100,000 florins, and the reversion of the electorate, in failure of issue male to Augustus, were assigned to Frederic.*

No obstacle now seemed likely to prevent the meeting of the diet, which was to confirm the conditions of the religious peace concluded at Passau. After various convocations, this memorable diet was, on the 5th of February, 1555, opened by Ferdinand, in consequence of the absence of the emperor, who was confined by the gout at Brussels. Considering the nature of the dispute, and the animosity of the two parties, just apprehensions were entertained lest this assembly, instead of allaying, should revive the troubles of religion; but, fortunately, the Catholics were not animated by the inflexible spirit of Charles; and Ferdinand was of too prudent a temper, and too much interested to pacify Germany, that he might obtain assistance against the Turks, not to exert all his efforts, and make every just concession which his attachment to the Catholic religion would permit, for the purpose of conciliating both Protestants and Catholics. With this view he prevented, as much as possible, all public disputations, and the exchange of written memorials, which, as experience had shown, only tended to widen the breach; and referred the business to a deputation of princes, who, by discussing the contested points in amicable conferences, might explain them in such a manner as to bring the contending parties either to coincide in opinion or differ in charity.

By this judicious expedient, as well as by his exhortations and address, he succeeded in obtaining the consent of both parties to general articles of mutual toleration, except on essential points. The Protestants contended, that the religious immunity granted at Passau should be extended, without limitation, to all who had hitherto embraced the confession of Augsburgh, or even should in

* Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, John Frederic died, in his 52nd year, leaving, by his will, the joint sovereignty of all his territories to his three sons. The descendants of the Albertine branch still enjoy the electorate of Saxony, and those of John Frederic the three duchies of Gotha, Weimar, and Jena. In case of the death of the present elector without issue male, the electorate will revert to the original line.

future embrace it; that the subjects of Catholic princes should not be molested on account of religion; and that all prelates, or other ecclesiastics, should retain their benefices and temporal possessions, even if they should abjure the Catholic faith, and become members of the confession of Augsburgh. On the other hand, the Catholics as firmly opposed the establishment of this principle, as they foresaw that Catholic ecclesiastics would be encouraged to abandon their religion for the sake of secularising their territories; that Catholic subjects would be induced to withdraw from their allegiance, under the pretence of religion; and, finally, that instead of preserving the balance between the two persuasions, it would render the Protestants wholly predominant in the empire. This dispute was agitated with the utmost acrimony, and more than once threatened the dissolution of the diet. At length, as neither party would relinquish their object, or accept any modification, a kind of tacit compromise was effected, which suspended instead of terminating the dispute, and an act of perpetual peace and mutual toleration was published, in the form of a recess* of the diet, of which the following were the principal articles relative to religion.

The members of the confession of Augsburgh were declared exempt from the jurisdiction of the pope, and indulged, in the same manner as the Catholics, with the free exercise of their religion, in those places where it had been hitherto established; and all other sects or denominations were excluded from the benefit of this indulgence. All princes and states were empowered to tolerate or prohibit either religion within the limits of their own territories; and their respective subjects were permitted to sell their property, and to remove, without molestation, into any other state where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. In the free cities, where both religions were professed, both were to enjoy toleration; and the free nobility, immediately dependent on the em-

* This act is a recapitulation of all the points agreed to by the diet during their sitting, and is ratified by the signature of the emperor, or his presiding commissary, and the members of the different states, and is not dissimilar to the collection of our acts of parliament at the termination of each session.

peror, were included in this indulgence. No change was to take place, nor any prosecution to be instituted, in regard to the confiscated property of the church. The Protestants were to be admitted into the imperial chamber, and justice was to be administered equally to both parties, without regard to religion.

With respect to the contested points, from which neither party would recede, it was declared in the seventh article, that as a dispute had arisen during the negotiation, on the temporal property of those ecclesiastics who should separate from the church of Rome; and as the two parties had been unable to come to any decision, Ferdinand, by the full powers with which he was intrusted by the emperor, and by his own authority, declared that any prelate or ecclesiastic, separating from the Catholic church, should immediately vacate his prelacy or benefice, with all its rights and revenues, though without prejudice to his honour, and the chapter should proceed to a new election. This clause afterwards obtained the name of the Ecclesiastical Reservation; and though inserted with the acquiescence of both parties, and enforced by the Catholics as a fundamental law of the empire, was always rejected by the Protestants as having never received their approbation. This recess was signed in the usual form by both Catholics and Protestants; and, before its promulgation, Ferdinand, with the consent of the ecclesiastical states, delivered to the Protestants a declaration, securing liberty of conscience to the nobles, cities, and communities of the confession of Augsburgh, which were under the domination of the ecclesiastical princes. This declaration was, however, rejected by the Catholics, as was the preceding clause by the Protestants; and the disputes arising from these sources became the causes of the religious troubles which afterwards desolated Germany.*

Such were the principal articles of the famous recess of the diet of Augsburgh, which forms the basis of the religious peace in Germany; but it must be considered rather as a temporary expedient, of which both parties only waited opportunities to take an advantage, than as a per-

* The best and most impartial account of this memorable recess is given by Heiss, at the close of the reign of Charles V.

manent and rational system of policy, the establishment of which was reserved to a more distant and enlightened age.

In reviewing, however, this eventful period in the history of the world, we cannot repress a sentiment of wonder and veneration at the varied, contradictory, and seemingly trifling means which arrested the progress of error and licentiousness under the guise of religion, and restored purity of worship and the doctrines of the Gospel in their primitive simplicity. We see a controversy arising from a single and inconsiderable question, and gradually expanding, till it embraced all the errors of the church; we see an obscure monk shaking off the prejudices of his age, profession, and nation, whose very defects of character and temper become instrumental in the promotion of truth; and though environed with all the terrors of papal and imperial authority, yet combating or averting the threatened dangers by intrepidity and prudence, or escaping from them by instances of good fortune almost miraculous: we observe the cause of the Gospel promoted and strengthened by those who were most interested and most inclined to oppose and oppress it. We observe the Reformation secured and established by the same prince who had brought it to the verge of destruction. By the impulse of the same motive we see the kings of France, while they persecuted their own Protestant subjects, consolidating the league for the protection of those in Germany; the Turks, the enemies of Christendom, contributing to weaken and divide its opponents; Charles himself, stimulated by personal resentment or motives of policy to become the protector of that doctrine which it was the object of his whole reign to depress; and even the pope himself coming forward, at the most dangerous crisis, to join in a league against the interests of that church of which he was the head. We observe all these objects accomplished in the midst of contending parties and jarring interests, and even when the Protestants were divided, and actuated with scarcely less antipathy against each other than the Catholics against them. In reviewing all these stupendous revolutions, we cannot but acknowledge the wisdom of Providence, making the most opposite circumstances and the most hostile characters contribute to the same end, and

turning to the accomplishment of his great purposes the perverseness and caprice of human passions, and the perplexed views of human policy.

CHAP. XXXII.—1555–1558.

ALTHOUGH the article of the ecclesiatical reservation placed an insuperable barrier round the remaining property of the church, and effectually guarded against the defection of its dignitaries; yet Paul IV. considered the indulgence given to the Protestants as an impious encroachment on his sacred authority. He threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with excommunication, if they did not declare this recess null and void; and at the same time he made overtures to Henry II. and proposed the formation of a new holy league, in order to annihilate the power of the house of Austria in Italy. But while this new storm was gathering on one side, and while the affairs of Germany were yet remaining in suspense on the other, the emperor astonished Europe by a voluntary abdication of his dignity.

When we consider that Charles was the most active and enterprising prince of his age, that he had at all times evinced the most insatiable thirst of power, and that he had now attained a period of life, in which all the other passions usually become subservient to ambition, his resolution must excite our wonder no less than our curiosity; but our surprise will in some degree subside, when we review the later transactions of his reign, and consider his situation, disposition, and habits of life.

A constitutional gloom, derived from his mother, which threw him into fits of occasional despondency, even in the midst of his most prosperous circumstances, had now degenerated into religious melancholy. These fits of despondency were augmented by the frequent returns of the gout, the violence of which distemper increasing as he advanced in age, impaired his faculties, and incapacitated him for managing the conduct of affairs, for administering the

government of so many different kingdoms, and for actuating that great system of policy which embraced such various combinations and operations, both civil and military, and extended to every nation in Europe. To these motives must be added the imperious temper and undutiful behaviour of his unfeeling son, to whom he had already resigned Milan and Naples, who openly aspired to the government of the Low Countries, and treated his father with haughtiness and neglect.

But, above all, his mind was deeply wounded by the sad reverse of circumstances which had succeeded a period of the most splendid and uninterrupted prosperity, by the unexpected failure of his long and persevering efforts to extirpate the reformed opinions, and heal the schism of the church, and his attempt to procure the reversion of the imperial crown for his son. By these afflictions and disappointments, his constitution and temper were totally changed; he became peevish and discontented, suspicious of his ministers, and abandoned himself to such a neglect of business, and such a disgust of society, that he admitted no one into his presence except his sister Mary and a few confidential servants, and passed nine months in his apartments without signing a single paper, or issuing a single order.

During the few years which followed the pacification of Passau, he had been unusually subject to returns of despondency, and had often testified his intention to resign his dignities; but he had been prevented from executing his purpose by the youth and inexperience of his son, and yet more by the impossibility of obtaining the consent of his mother, who was still living and insane, and the consequent approbation of the cortes of Spain. At length her death, on the 4th of April, 1555, relieved him from this embarrassment, at the very moment when his disgust and disappointment had risen to a height, and he had scarcely ratified the religious peace before he hastened to carry his design into execution.

Although the circumstances of his abdication and death are foreign to our plan, yet we trust the reader will pardon a short digression relative to the end of a sovereign who

has made so conspicuous a figure in the preceding pages of this history.

He convened the states of the Low Countries at Brussels on the 25th of October, 1555, and, accompanied by his son Philip, repaired to the assembly. The president of the council having read the act of abdication, Charles rose from his throne, and, tottering with infirmities, supported himself on the shoulder of the prince of Orange. He enumerated his labours from the seventeenth year of his age; his incessant voyages and travels throughout Europe and Africa; his numerous wars and victories; and dwelt on the sacrifice which he had made of his time, his inclinations, and his health, in defence of his religion, and in support of the public good.

"While my health," he added, "enabled me to perform my duty, I cheerfully bore the burden; but as my constitution is now broken by an incurable distemper, and my infirmities admonish me to retire, the happiness of my people affects me more than the ambition of reigning. Instead of a decrepit old man, tottering on the brink of the grave, I transfer your allegiance to a sovereign in the prime of life, vigilant, sagacious, active, and enterprising. With respect to myself, if I have committed any error in the course of a long administration, forgive, and impute it to my weakness, and not to my intention. I shall ever retain a grateful sense of your fidelity and attachment; and your welfare shall be the great object of my prayers to Almighty God, to whom I now consecrate the remainder of my days." Then turning to Philip, who fell on his knees, and kissed his hand, he said, "And you, my son, let the grateful recollection of this day redouble your care and affection for your people. Other sovereigns may rejoice in having given birth to their sons, and in leaving their states to them after their death; but I am anxious to enjoy, during life, the double satisfaction of feeling that you are indebted to me both for your birth and power. Few monarchs will follow my example, and in the lapse of ages I have scarcely found one whom I myself would imitate. The resolution, therefore, which I have taken, and which I now carry into execution, will be justified only by proving yourself worthy of it; and you will alone render yourself

worthy of the extraordinary confidence which I now repose in you, by a zealous protection of your religion, and by maintaining the purity of the Catholic faith; by supporting the rights and privileges of your subjects, and by governing with justice and moderation. And may you, if ever you are desirous of retiring, like myself, to the tranquillity of private life, enjoy the inexpressible happiness of having such a son, that you may resign your crown to him with the same satisfaction as I now deliver mine to you."

At the conclusion of his speech, Charles gave his benediction to Philip, embraced him with great fervour, and sunk into his chair exhausted by fatigue, as well as affected at the tears shed by the audience, and the regret which they testified in losing their sovereign.

On the 15th of January, 1556, Charles resigned, with the same formalities, the crown of Spain to Philip, reserving to himself, of all his dignities and revenues, an annual pension of 10,000 ducats; and, departing from the Low Countries on the 17th of September, landed at Loredo, in Biscay, on the 28th. As soon as he touched the ground, he fell prostrate on his face, and, kissing the earth, exclaimed, "Naked came I into the world, and naked I return to thee, thou common mother of mankind; to thee I dedicate my body, as the only return I can make for all the benefits conferred on me." Then, holding up a crucifix, he burst into tears, while he gave thanks for the goodness of his Saviour, in permitting him to revisit, in the close of life, that kingdom which was always most dear to him, by which he had attained the highest honours, and to which, next to Providence, he referred all his victories and triumphs.

From Loredo he proceeded, by gradual and easy journeys suited to his infirm state of health, to the convent of St. Justus, situated near Placentia, in Estremadura, in the midst of a delightful vale, watered by a lively stream, and crowned with tufts of trees, which, from the beauty of its situation, had struck him in the height of his prosperity, and drawn from him the exclamation, "Behold a charming retreat for another Diocletian!"

His apartment consisted of six small rooms, four in the form of cells, with white-washed walls, and the two others

hung with brown cloth, and simply furnished. A small garden, laid down after his own plan, was filled with various plants and flowers, and communicated with the chapel of the convent. In this humble and solitary retreat, attended by twelve domestics, Charles passed the remainder of his days in cultivating the garden with his own hands, visiting and receiving visits from the neighbouring nobles, whom he admitted to his table without ceremony; in regularly attending divine service twice every day; in perusing books of devotion, particularly the works of St. Augustin and St. Bernard; and in conversing with his confessor on the most abstruse and difficult points of divinity.

But, as his mind was not enlightened by science, he could not apply to the resources of polite literature, and passed many hours of his retirement in the most trifling occupations, or in the minute observance of superstitious ceremonies. With the assistance of an able artist, whom he persuaded to accompany him into his retreat, he amused himself in forming curious works of mechanism, and models of useful machines; in constructing and regulating clocks and watches; in making puppets or automata, which moved with secret springs; and the great monarch, who had pacified or convulsed Europe, derived a childish satisfaction from observing the astonishment of the ignorant monks, who mistook their movements for supernatural agency.

At first, the novelty of the scene, the mildness of the climate, a deliverance from the cares of government, a remission from the acute pains of disease, and the enjoyment of social intercourse, made his retirement appear a paradise, in comparison with the perpetual agitation and anxiety of his former station. But it was not long before his constitutional melancholy returned with redoubled violence; increased by an attack of the gout, it impaired his understanding, and degenerated into religious despondency. Even his former innocent amusements lost their relish, and seemed criminal, as they diverted his attention from religious exercises and devout meditations. To the archbishop of Toledo, who congratulated him on his birth-day, Charles replied, "I have lived fifty-seven years for the world, a year for my intimate friends in this retreat, and I

am determined, from this moment, to devote entirely to God the remainder of my life."

He carried this resolution into execution with all the misguided fervour of a religious enthusiast. During the few months which he continued to exist, he conformed to all the rigour of monastic austerity; he gave up his pension to the disposition of the principal; admitted no company but the monks; dined with them in the refrectory; was perpetually chanting hymns, and repeating prayers; and inflicted on himself the severest discipline with a whip of cords. When his domestics endeavoured to divert him from these acts of mortification, he made them presents, treated them with the greatest condescension, and added, "My children, let not my way of life exclude you from your wonted amusements; but do not interrupt me in my religious exercises."

Impressed with increasing gloom, he even endeavoured to surpass all his former mortifications, by solemnising his own obsequies. A tomb was erected in the middle of the chapel; his domestics, in deep mourning, with black tapers in their hands, marched in funeral procession while Charles himself followed in his shroud, and lay down in his coffin. The funeral service was performed, and the hollow voice of the monarch was heard joining in the prayers, and chanting the hymns for the repose of his soul. At the conclusion of the service, and after the customary aspersion of holy water, the congregation withdrew, and the doors of the chapel were closed. Charles remained some time in his coffin, and then rising, prostrated himself at the foot of the altar, and retired to his cell to pass the night in profound meditation.

This ceremony became the prelude to his dissolution: the agitation of his mind wrought up to frenzy, by the tremendous ideas of death and eternity, brought on a fever, which hurried him to the grave, on the 21st of September, 1558, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his reign.

The character of Charles V. has been variously represented by the Spanish, German, and French historians, and highly praised or censured according to the prejudices of country, religion, or party. In fact, both praises and

censures were founded on truth; for his virtues and failings were equally prominent, and were capable of little exaggeration, either from the adulation of friends or malevolence of enemies. Charles possessed a most graceful person, great beauty of countenance, and elegance of deportment. He inherited the phlegm of Frederic, the address and intrepidity of Maximilian, the vigour, policy, and duplicity of Ferdinand the Catholic; and the personal qualifications of his father, Philip. He did not discover, in early youth, and scarcely in ripening manhood, those splendid and active qualities which afterwards so highly distinguished him among the princes, his contemporaries, even in an age of great men: his genius and abilities slowly unfolded themselves, and were gradually drawn forth and expanded by the circumstances of the times, and the difficulties of his situation. He was temperate in his diet, plain in his apparel, kind and familiar to his domestics, decorous in his manners, and of a grave, yet courtly deportment. He spoke little, and was seldom seen to laugh; and, being perfectly master of his passions, he was apparently unaffected by those trying occurrences which usually agitate the coldest constitutions. He was cautious and deliberate in concerting his plans; but in carrying them into execution was prompt and active; and pursued them with an unremitting perseverance, shrinking at no difficulties, and daunted by no danger. He was remarkable for knowledge of mankind, and discrimination of character; sagacious in discovering and employing persons of ability, and successful in attaching them to his cause by liberality and attention.

Endowed by nature with a versatile genius, he excelled in all his undertakings. In the early part of his reign he confined his talents to the cabinet, and had attained his thirty-third year before he took the field; yet he no sooner appeared at the head of his armies, than he displayed such military knowledge, and such talents for command, that he was justly ranked among the most able generals of the age. Though noted for duplicity, he was able to assume the appearance of frankness and sincerity, and even persuaded those whom he had repeatedly deceived again to place confidence in his promises and assertions. No sove-

reign ever possessed, in a greater degree, the art of gaining and attaching allies; and his success was no less owing to alliances than to his own power and talents. His ambition was insatiable; and he gave a true picture of his reign and character when, in resigning his crown to his son, he said, "I leave you a heavy burden; for, since my shoulders have borne it, I have not passed one day exempt from disquietude."

Firm and patient in adversity, he was rendered haughty, untractable, and unfeeling by prosperity; and he cast an indelible stain on his memory by his ungenerous treatment of Francis I., and by his insulting behaviour to the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse. This spirit of vengeance, which debased his character, was not the impulse of a choleric temper suddenly kindling into anger, and as suddenly subsiding, but the effect of cool design, not yielding to entreaties, nor open to conviction; it was permanent, and ceasing only from the dread of counteracting his own interest, or the impossibility of being gratified.

Charles regretted, in his more advanced age, his neglect of letters; and once, on listening to a Latin oration at Genoa, which he could not comprehend, said, with a sigh, "I now feel the justness of my preceptor Adrian's remonstrances, who frequently used to predict that I should be punished for the thoughtlessness of my youth." Yet, though illiterate himself, and, from custom and habit, averse to letters, he was not insensible to the advantage derived from literature; and shared, in an inferior degree, with Francis and Leo the glory of protecting the arts and sciences. He patronised and pensioned men of learning, conversed with them familiarly, and frequently admitted them into his presence without form or ceremony. The nobles of his court complaining that he refused to receive them, while he passed whole hours with Guicciardini, the celebrated historian, he rebuked their envy, by declaring that he could in an instant create a hundred grandees, but that God only could form a Guicciardini. He loaded Titian with honours and presents; he sat three times to him for his picture; and boasted that he had been three times immortalised. He delighted in seeing him paint; and one day, taking up the pencil which fell from the

hands of the painter, delivered it, saying, "Titian is worthy of being served by an emperor." Though fond of praise, he was disgusted with gross flattery; and said to an orator, who had fulsomely complimented him, "You have rather represented me as I ought to be than as I am."

His favourite books were, an Italian translation of Thucydides, and the Memoirs of Philippe de Comines. From the Greek historian he drew lessons for his conduct in war and politics; and from Comines he was accused of copying, with too much attention, the character of Louis XI., and adopting his refinements of crooked policy.

Charles, affianced in his youth to five different princesses, at length espoused his cousin Eleanora, daughter of Emanuel, king of Portugal, a princess who seems to have been the object of his own choice. She died in childbed, May 1 1539, after bearing several children, three of whom only survived.

Philip, his only son, was born May 21, 1527; obtained the investiture of Milan in 1538, and the crown of Naples in 1554, by the resignation of his father; and, on his abdication, succeeded to the crown of Spain, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands. To his vast paternal inheritance he added Portugal: on the death of Henry, the last male of the ancient line of kings, he claimed that country in right of his mother, and, though opposed by various other candidates, established his pretensions by arms. He continued the Austrian branch of the kings of Spain, and died in 1598. He was four times married; first, in 1543, to Maria, daughter of John III., king of Portugal; secondly, in 1554, to Mary, queen of England; thirdly, in 1560, to Isabella, daughter of Henry II., king of France; and, fourthly, in 1570, to Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian II.

By his first wife he had Don Carlos, whose melancholy history and untimely death have been the subject of poetry and romance. This unfortunate prince, who was born in 1545, was educated in Spain, while his father was absent in the Netherlands and in England, and seems, like Maximilian, to have imbibed a partiality to the reformed doctrines. He inherited a violent and impetuous temper, and this defect was suffered to increase, instead of being checked

by those who had the control of his education. In his sixteenth year he was destined to receive the hand of the beautiful Isabella, daughter of Henry II. of France; but the death of queen Mary happening before the conclusion of this match, Philip himself anticipated his son, by espousing a princess, who, to the charms of her person, united so many political advantages. This disappointment made a deep impression on the sanguine and impetuous mind of the young prince, and his resentment was inflamed by the constant sight of his beautiful mother-in-law. At the age of seventeen, he was sent to complete his education at the university of Alcala, and during his residence at this place received a blow on the head by a fall, which is supposed to have occasioned a derangement of intellects. This accident aggravated the anguish of disappointed love; and his impatient spirit was irritated by the austerity of his bigoted father, who seems to have suspected his tendency to heresy. From these causes the unfortunate prince gave way to all the bitterness of resentment, and formed the wildest schemes to deliver himself from the control of his father, and to escape from a country where he was held in perpetual restraint. He purposed to retire to Malta, and form a crusade against the Turks, endeavoured to obtain the distant government of the Netherlands, and finally entered into a secret correspondence with the disaffected natives.

Another disappointment, occasioned by the prevention of a marriage which was negotiated between him and Anne of Austria, drove him to despair; he poured forth his indignation in public execrations against his father, and made immediate preparations to quit the country. These attempts, joined with his increasing attachment to the reformed doctrines, and his supposed endeavours to promote their diffusion in Spain, roused the indignation of Philip, who could not spare heresy and disobedience even in a son; and, after consulting the inquisition, he himself entered the apartment of Don Carlos in the middle of the night, and delivered him as a prisoner to the custody of his guard. His process was instituted before the terrible tribunal which had decreed his imprisonment, and the sentence could not fail of being fatal to the unhappy victim. The lord of Mortigny, who had been the agent of his cor-

respondence with the insurgents of the Netherlands, was executed; and the prince himself, after a short and severe confinement, fell a victim to the violence of conflicting passions, or was put to death by the order of his implacable father. This melancholy history has furnished a theme for poetry and romance, and like the tale of the equally unfortunate Alexius, son of Peter the Great, has excited the pity, and exercised the conjectures of posterity.*

By Mary of England Philip left no children; and by his third wife, two daughters, Isabella Clara Eugenia, wife of Albert, archduke of Austria, and joint sovereign of the Low Countries; and Catherine, wife of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. His fourth wife bore him his only surviving son and successor, Philip III.

Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles V., espoused the emperor Maximilian II.; and his second daughter, Joanna, was wife of John, infant of Portugal, and mother of Sebastian, who was killed in the unfortunate battle of Alcazar.

Charles, beside his legitimate issue, left several natural children, of whom two became distinguished in history. Don John of Austria was supposed to be the son of Barbara Blumberg, a noble lady of Augsburgh. He was bred up as the son of a private gentleman till the death of his father, when Philip communicated to him the secret of his birth, treated him as a brother, and intrusted him with commands which enabled him to make a considerable figure in the military history of Europe. He bore a short though distinguished part in the troubles of the Netherlands; and died, at the early age of twenty-nine, of chagrin and disappointment.

Margaret of Austria, one of the most celebrated princesses of the age, first espoused Alexander de' Medici, to whom Charles had restored the sovereignty of Tuscany; and afterwards Ottavio Farnese, sovereign of Parma, to whom she bore the celebrated Alexander Farnese. After sharing the uncertain fortunes of her husband, she had the satisfaction to see him reconciled to her father, and his territories restored. Both she and her husband enjoyed

* Ferreras, vol. ix. p. 568., vol. x. p. 59.; Gebhaerdi, vol. ii. p. 390.; Watson's Philip II., vol. i. p. 212., 4to.

the favour of Philip, by whom she was intrusted with the government of the Low Countries; and, to the great regret of the natives, in 1554, relinquished that office to the relentless duke of Alva. She died in January, 1586, a few months before her husband.

Notwithstanding the frequent or rather almost continual absence of Charles from Germany, many beneficial regulations in the police, jurisprudence, and finances were introduced during his reign. He improved and new modelled the imperial chamber, on which the preservation of the peace so much depended, and established new regulations and statutes in regard to its constitution, jurisdiction, and proceedings; a work, as a competent judge observes, "which might be considered as a masterpiece of its kind, and which, even to the present day, has not only preserved its authority as a law of the empire, but as a rule for almost all the legal proceedings since established in the different circles, and is considered a common law in such cases." He likewise imposed a perpetual tax for its maintenance, and, above all, instituted an annual and regular visitation to inspect its proceedings, to remedy abuses, and grant new trials in cases of appeal.

To the reign of Charles must also be ascribed an innovation in the mode of contribution for military aids. Hitherto the armies had been supplied by personal service, according to the feudal system, or by the impost called the common penny, which was levied on the value of all property. These ancient modes were now commuted for a tax in money, at the rate of twelve florins per month for a horseman, and four for a foot soldier; and for the purpose of raising this supply, the territorial lords, who had hitherto received only gratuitous contributions from their provincial states, were authorised to levy the tax granted by the imperial diet. The respective proportions were founded on the matricula, or list of the troops to be supplied by each state, which was arranged at the first diet of Worms, for the intended expedition of the emperor to Rome. Although the expedition did not take place, the statement was preserved, as a foundation for the computation of future aids; and from the original purpose the contribution received the denomination of Roman months.

This change, though disadvantageous to a sovereign possessed of small territories and scanty revenues, was a considerable benefit to Charles, who ruled extensive dominions, and was master of such powerful resources.

Another tax, which originated during his reign, was a species of impost levied on the immediate nobility of the empire, who claimed an exemption from all taxes under the plea of personal service; it was now occasionally extorted from them as a charitable subsidy, though with the saving clause, that it was not imposed by right, but merely optional.

The union of the circles was of considerable advantage for the maintenance of the public peace. It was instituted in consequence of the dissolution of the Suabian league, and first formed by the two circles of the Rhine, and those of Franconia and Suabia, for the purpose of opposing the predatory aggressions of Albert, margrave of Brandenburgh. It was ratified before the close of the year by all the circles, and made a law of the empire by the imperial order of execution, inserted in the recess of the diet of 1555, by which, in case of disturbances, the states of each circle were to afford all necessary aid under the command of their respective colonels; and, if the force of one or more circles was insufficient, all the circles of the empire were to join in maintaining the public peace, or supporting the decrees of the imperial chamber.

Besides these institutions, Charles regulated the standard of coin, and improved the Germanic constitution, by a new system of criminal jurisprudence, which from him has received the name of the Caroline code, and forms the foundation of the present penal law.

CHAP. XXXIII.—FERDINAND I.—1503–1563.

FERDINAND I., founder of the German branch of the house of Austria, was second son of Philip the Handsome, by Joanna, heiress of Castile and Arragon. He was born on

the 10th of March, 1503, at Alcala de Henares, a city of Castile, received his early education under the care of his grandfather Ferdinand, made a considerable proficiency in polite literature, and excelled in military exercises. Born and bred in Spain, Ferdinand acquired by his conciliating manners the affection of the natives, to such a degree as to excite the jealousy of his brother, and from that cause was removed into the Low Countries; to this precaution was owing, perhaps, the preservation of the Spanish dominions; for during the subsequent troubles, which the youthful imprudence of Charles, and the exactions of his Flemish counsellors excited in Castile and Arragon, the malecontents would have offered the crown to the darling of the whole nation. On his removal to the Low Countries, in the fifteenth year of his age, he enjoyed the advantage of having a plan for his future education, drawn up by the celebrated Erasmus.

In this early part of his life Ferdinand experienced two severe disappointments, which would have deeply affected a mind more restless and ambitious than his. His grandfather Ferdinand was so jealous of Charles, that he had made a will, bequeathing to him the crowns of Arragon and Naples, with the grand-masterships of the three military orders, and appointing him regent of Castile till the arrival of his brother; but was dissuaded from his purpose by the urgent representations of cardinal Ximenes, and therefore provided Ferdinand with only a pension of 50,000 ducats. His other grandfather, Maximilian, had likewise purposed to confer on him the hereditary countries of the house of Austria, with the title of king, and to procure for him the reversion of the imperial crown; however, he was also induced to alter this disposition, and consequently Ferdinand inherited only the Austrian territories in conjunction with his brother.

These disappointments were, however, in some degree compensated by the cession which Charles made of his right to the Austrian territories, by which Ferdinand concentrated, in his own person, the possession of all the German dominions, and inherited all the pretensions of his illustrious family. But before he could take quiet possession of his new sovereignty, he had to crush a dangerous

faction, which had usurped the principal authority of the state.

On the death of Maximilian, a junto of six disaffected persons at Vienna, two of whom were nobles, and the remainder members of the university or popular demagogues, assisted by the burghers, expelled the regency established by the deceased emperor, seized the arsenals and treasure, and assumed the reins of government. The expelled regents retired to Neustadt, and being acknowledged by the inhabitants and the surrounding districts, two different governments contested the direction of affairs. Both parties appealing to Charles, then absent in Spain, he confirmed the regency at Neustadt, but the junto at Vienna tore down his edict, and, establishing their sway over the archduchy of Austria, formed a federal union at Bruck, on the Mura, in the name of the Austrian states, with those of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, by which these five provinces agreed to support each other against all opposition, though without disclaiming their allegiance to their sovereigns. They also drew up a list of the privileges, of which they claimed the redress, sent it by a deputation to Charles, on the 3rd of November, 1519, and accompanied these requisitions with a demand that he would come and take possession of his territories. Notwithstanding the insolence with which these demands were urged, Charles could not venture to threaten so powerful a faction; he therefore treated the deputies with mildness, and promised to confirm their immunities; he appointed a committee who were to receive the homage of the states, and govern during his absence, and declared, that on his return to Germany he would act as became his own dignity and the welfare of his subjects. But the deputies, on their return to Vienna, concealing these orders, persuaded the people that Charles had confirmed their authority.

Such was the situation of the Austrian territories when they were ceded to Ferdinand. After having solemnised, in December, 1522, his nuptials at Lintz with Anne, princess of Hungary and Bohemia, he summoned an assembly of the states, and required the attendance of the two regencies at Neustadt, whither he repaired in person. His orders were instantly obeyed; and, after proper inquiries,

he approved the conduct of the regency at Neustadt; he easily dissipated the party of the junto, who had disgusted the people by their tyrannical government, and caused the two ringleaders, with six burghers of Vienna, who had taken a principal share in the rebellion, to be beheaded.

Having thus established his authority on a firm and permanent basis, he directed his attention to the affairs of Germany, with the administration of which he was intrusted during the absence of Charles, until the death of his brother-in-law, Louis, opened to him the prospect of obtaining the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia.

Louis had succeeded, in 1516, his father Ladislaus, in the tenth year of his age; and, in 1521, solemnised his nuptials with Mary, sister of the Austrian princes, and assumed the administration. From his youth and inexperience, as well as from his neglected education, both countries suffered the evils attendant on an unstable and divided government. His ministers were scarcely able to maintain Bohemia in tranquillity; and could not prevent the diffusion of Lutheran doctrines, or repress the discontents which arose from religious animosity; much less could his weak goverment curb the turbulent nobles of Hungary, or repel the continual inroads of the Turks.

Since the death of Bajazet II., the Turkish power had increased to a most alarming degree, under the short but brilliant reign of his son, the active and enterprising Selim. After subduing Armenia and humbling Persia, he turned his arms to the west, in 1516 and 1517, reduced the warlike tribes of Arabia, overthrew the Mameluc chiefs in two campaigns, and, by annexing Egypt and Syria to his other dominions, annihilated the only neighbouring power, which could co-operate with the Christian states to check his progress in Europe. These vast acquisitions were only the prelude to new and greater enterprises; as the means of extending his empire in the Archipelago and the Mediterranean, he created a navy able to cope with the maritime forces of Europe, and made preparations to obtain possession of Rhodes, one of the bulwarks of Christendom. At the same time he renewed the great designs of Mahomet II., on the side of the Danube; and, by the conquest of Hun-

gary, intended to carry his victorious arms into the heart of Europe. His schemes, suspended by his untimely death, were revived, in 1520, with new vigour by his son Solyman the Magnificent, who, to the talents, activity, and bravery of his father, united acquirements and accomplishments which had never before graced the princes of the Ottoman race; and whose enterprising spirit proved a formidable check to the aggrandisement of the house of Austria. He had scarcely ascended the throne before he subjugated Bosnia, and besieged Belgrade, which was justly considered as the great barrier against his power on the side of Hungary. But the garrison, though well provided with every means of defence, were not animated with the spirit which their predecessors under the great Hunniades had exerted against Mahomet II.; for after a siege, not distinguished by any remarkable event, the place was surrendered by treachery to the infidels. The acquisition of the important island of Rhodes was his next achievement; and after a short interval, in which he was embarrassed by a rebellion in Egypt, he resumed his projects for the conquest of Hungary, and passed the winter of 1525 near the frontiers, for the purpose of maturing his preparations. His views were favoured by the conduct of the Christian princes, who were occupied by religious dissensions, or wasting each other's strength in perpetual warfare; and by the apathy of the Hungarian court, which, under a youthful monarch, was immersed in pleasure and dissipation, or embarrassed by the discords and factions of the turbulent and disaffected nobles.

At length the storm, which had been so long gathering, burst with irresistible fury, and Solyman passed the Danube with an army of 200,000 men. The approach of danger awakening the young monarch from his lethargy, he revived an ancient custom of singular import, by ordering a bloody sabre to be carried from town to town, from village to village, and from house to house, as a signal to rouse all who were capable of bearing arms. But even this expedient had little effect; the Hungarians, instead of uniting under the royal standard, formed themselves into two different parties. Louis having in vain appealed to the pope, the emperor, and the German states, drew together an army of

30,000 men; and as this force was insufficient to resist the enemy, he held a council of war, and proposed to remain on the defensive till a junction was formed with the Bohemian and Austrian troops, and with John of Zapoli, waivode of Transylvania, who was approaching at the head of 40,000 men. This wise proposal was frustrated by the enthusiasm of Tomore, bishop of Kolotz, to whom the command was intrusted, and who was encouraged by the success of a few trivial skirmishes to announce the defeat of the infidels, by divine assistance. Animated by his exhortations, the nobles drowned the voice of their young sovereign by exclaiming, "To arms!" and stigmatised all those who declined the engagement as enemies to their country. The king yielded to the impulse; and on the 29th of August, 1526, Mohatz became the theatre of a battle which was to decide the fate of Hungary. The Hungarians fought with all the ardour of religious enthusiasm; yet no exertions could compensate for the vast disproportion of numbers, or frustate the skilful dispositions of Solyman. Of 30,000 combatants, no less than 22,000 fell on the field, among whom were seven bishops, twenty-eight magnates, and 500 nobles.

The king, perceiving that the day was lost, reluctantly retreated from the field. On arriving at the village of Czetze, he was stopped in a marshy plain, watered by a rivulet: a Silesian nobleman, who was mounted on a light steed, crossed the stream without difficulty; the king instantly followed, but his horse being heavy and loaded with caparisons, sunk into the morass, and, struggling to reach the opposite bank with his fore feet, fell backwards on his rider. The nobleman flew to the assistance of his sovereign, drew him from the morass, and unlaced his helmet; but the king was mortally bruised, and expired in a few moments. The Turks advanced with speed, the body was lost, and being discovered two months afterwards, was buried at Alba Regia.

The victory was followed by the instant surrender of Buda and Pest, with other places of considerable importance; and nothing, perhaps, could have prevented the subjugation of Hungary, had not Solyman been compelled

to direct his arms against the Caramanian princes, who, on a report of his death, had risen in rebellion.*

Louis being the last male of his family, Ferdinand claimed both crowns under a double title: the one derived from family compacts, which secured the reversion to the house of Austria, in failure of male issue to the reigning family; and the other in right of his wife Anne, the only sister of the deceased monarch. But the natives of Hungary and Bohemia were too much attached to their rights of election to respect these compacts, or even to acknowlege his claims as husband of the princess; and Ferdinand, prudently waving his pretensions, offered himself as a candidate according to the usual mode of election. Being only opposed in Bohemia by Albert, duke of Bavaria, he was, on the 26th of October, 1526, elected by a committee of twenty persons who were appointed by the states to choose a king.

The new sovereign, in his letters of thanks to the states, promised to ratify all their rights and privileges, to observe the religious compacts, to raise no foreigners to any office of state, to coin good money, to govern the kingdom according to ancient customs and laws, and to reside at Prague. He also acknowledged, by public act, his election to the monarchy, as the free choice of the barons, nobles, and states of Bohemia, and disowned all other rights and pretensions.† He soon afterwards repaired to Iglau, where he took the usual oaths‡; and, continuing his journey to the capital, was crowned with his wife Anne in the cathedral, on the 4th of February, 1527.

After taking possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, at that time dependencies on Bohemia, he proceeded to Hungary, where the succession to the crown was contested by a more powerful rival than the duke of Bavaria.

John of Zapoli, count of Zips, and waivode of Transyl-

* Isthuanfii, Hist. de Reb. Hung. lib. vii.; Knolles's History of the Turks, art. Solyman the Magnificent.

† This deed is preserved in Goldastus de Privilegiis Bohemiæ, App. 206.

‡ According to Balbinus, the substance of this oath was engraven on a stone, which was erected at Iglau, and preserved as a memorial. —Pelzel, p. 534.

vania, being at the head of 40,000 men, whom he had led into the field to join his sovereign before the battle of Mohatz, offered himself as a candidate for the crown; and having convened the states at Tokay, was chosen by a large party of the nobles, who were averse to the rule of a foreigner. In November, 1526, he was crowned at Alba Regia with the sacred diadem of St. Stephen, by the archbishop of Gran, and took up his residence at Buda, the capital of the kingdom, which had been recently evacuated by the Turks.

On the other hand, Mary, the widow of the deceased monarch, and sister of Ferdinand, summoned, in conjunction with the palatine, a diet at Presburgh; and a party of the nobles, after declaring the election of John illegal, because the assembly at Tokay was not regularly convoked by the palatine, raised Ferdinand to the throne. The new sovereign supported his election by marching to Presburgh with a powerful army of Germans and Bohemians, was joyfully received by his party, took an oath to confirm the rights and privileges of the nation, and proceeded, without delay, towards Buda. Raab, Commora, Gran, and Alba Regia surrendered without opposition; John retired from the capital, and Ferdinand made his triumphant entry. A numerous meeting of the states, assembled in a new diet, confirmed the proceedings at Presburgh, declared Ferdinand king, and proclaimed John and his adherents enemies of their country if they did not, within twenty-six days, desist from their contumacy. Ferdinand gained many of the nobles by favours and promises; his troops defeated those of his rival in various encounters; and John himself was compelled to take refuge in Poland, under the protection of Sigismond I., who had married his sister.

Ferdinand was accordingly crowned by the archbishop of Gran, whom he had detached from the party of John; and after obtaining the ban of the diet against his rival, and appointing a council of regency during his absence, quitted Hungary in full possession of the whole kingdom.

Although the party of John was not of itself sufficiently strong to resist the establishment of Ferdinand, he found a powerful protector in the Turkish sultan, whose support

he readily gained by offering to pay an annual tribute, and to receive the crown of Hungary as a fief.

Ferdinand depending more on his right than his strength, and, at the same time relying too confidently on the support of a nation which was always divided by party broils, despatched an embassy to Constantinople, to require the immediate restitution of Belgrade, and the other places wrested from Hungary. This demand, opposed to the offers of submission which had been made by John, and rendered still more galling by the arrogant manners of the ambassador, roused the haughty spirit of the sultan; who, starting from his seat, exclaimed, "Belgrade! Go tell your master that I am collecting troops and preparing for my expedition. I will suspend at my neck the keys of my Hungarian fortresses, and will bring them to that plain of Mohatz where Louis, by the aid of Providence, found a defeat and a grave. Let Ferdinand meet and conquer me, and take them after severing my head from my body! But, if I find him not there, I will seek him at Buda, or follow him to Vienna."*

While he was preparing to execute this threat, John of Zapoli entered Hungary with a corps of Polish troops, and, defeating the Austrians at Cassau, was joined by numerous partisans, who crowded to his standard from Hungary, Transylvania, and Sclavonia. Soon afterwards Solyman appeared on the side of Belgrade, and with 300,000 men encamping in the plains of Mohatz, was joined by John, whom he received with regal honours. He then advanced and captured Pest, entered the town of Buda without opposition, and having taken the castle, by the treachery of the garrison, delivered it to John. Meeting with no resistance, he despatched a corps of irregular cavalry, who ravaged the country as far as Lintz: he himself soon afterwards followed with the main army, reduced Wissegrad, Gran, Commora, Raab, and Altenburgh, and rapidly advanced to the walls of Vienna.

The little resistance which the sultan experienced in

* This account is preserved by John Zermegh, a native of Sclavonia, and a contemporary writer.—Historia Rer. Gestarum inter Ferdinandum et Johannem; Schwandtner Scriptores Rer. Hungar. tom. ii. p. 394.

this astonishing irruption through so warlike a kingdom as Hungary, and against so powerful a family as the house of Austria, would appear incredible, did we not recollect that he was aided by the faction of Zapoli; that Bohemia, from intestine feuds, was incapable of furnishing effectual assistance; that Charles was employed in the Italian wars, and the states of Germany were too much influenced by religious antipathy to unite against a distant enemy. Ferdinand, however, made every exertion to save his capital; he threw into the town reinforcements to the amount of scarcely less than 20,000 men; and, by his instances with the German states, procured a corps of troops, who, under the command of Frederic, count palatine, advanced to Crems, in September, 1529, and though too late to enter the city, contributed to its relief, by keeping the Turks in continual alarm.

The city was ill prepared for resistance; the suburbs being extensive and open, and the walls extremely dilapidated, and in the ancient style of fortification, ill calculated to resist artillery; but these disadvantages were compensated by the skill of the commandant, Nicholas, count of Salm, by the courage of the garrison, and by the loyalty of the burghers; and, above all, their efforts were favoured by the loss of the flotilla conveying the Turkish heavy artillery; which, in its passage up the Danube, was dispersed or sunk by the garrison of Presburgh. The sultan, though without battering artillery, endeavoured, by mines, to effect breaches in the walls; but all his schemes were baffled, and during a siege of thirty days his various assaults repulsed with success. At length, after a last and desperate effort, the advance of winter and the dread of approaching succours compelled him to raise the siege, and retreat towards Buda. Here he proclaimed John of Zapoli king, in the midst of a numerous assembly of Turkish and Hungarian nobles, received his homage, and delivered to him the crown of St. Stephen*, and the other

* We have several times had occasion to mention the superstitious regard, and even devotion, of the Hungarians to the crown of St. Stephen. The history of this crown, during seven hundred years, from St. Stephen to the emperor Matthias, was compiled by Peter of Reva, count of Turocz, keeper of the regalia, in the commencement of the

regalia, which he had hitherto retained in his possession. After leaving a corps of troops as a garrison at Buda, he retired from Hungary, devastating the country, leading away so many captives, and making such dreadful havoc, as drew tears even from the man who was indebted to him for a crown.

On the retreat of Solyman, Ferdinand turned his arms against his rival; and, in the course of 1530, retook Altemburgh, Gran, and other places, invested the castle of Buda, and was only prevented by the lateness of the season from recovering the capital. His occupations in Germany, where he had been recently chosen king of the Romans, together with his attempts to settle the affairs of religion, prevented him from pursuing his conquests, and induced him to open a negotiation with John, through the mediation of the king of Poland. Although their opposite pretensions prevented an accommodation, yet several armistices were concluded, till a new invasion of the Turks restored the preponderance of Zapoli, and again endangered the Austrian dominions.

Solyman, galled at his recent disgrace before Vienna, spent two years in making mighty preparations, and resolved to avenge his failure, not only by subjugating the Austrian dominions, but by carrying his arms into the heart of Germany. With a far more considerable army than any he had ever before led into Hungary, he quitted his capital late in the spring, and, after a march of fifty-six days, reached the neighbourhood of Belgrade. The magnitude of his preparations, his own military skill, and the stupendous number and valour of his forces, spread a direful alarm over all Germany, but particularly among

17th century, and is, in fact, a brief history of the kingdom during that period. This memorable crown, which is superstitiously supposed to have been fabricated by angels, was sent by pope Benedict V. to St. Stephen, the sixth duke, and first king of Hungary, who introduced the Christian religion into his kingdom. His successors were inaugurated with this crown, and the ceremony of coronation with the possession of the crown, were considered as conferring the regal rights. It was for a long time kept at Alba Regia, was removed to Buda by the house of Zapoli, and afterwards preserved by the Austrian sovereigns in the castle of Presburgh, till the Turks were expelled from Hungary, when it seems to have been restored to Buda.

the natives of those provinces "in whose fresh remembrance yet remained the bleeding wounds of their country; who had seen their dwellings destroyed, their fields devastated, their brethren and friends slain, their wives and children led into captivity, and the numerous unspeakable calamities which they had endured in the late invasions."* To add to these distresses, religious dissensions still raged in Germany; and though succours had been voted by the diet, Ferdinand saw little hope of effectual and speedy assistance against the impending danger.

To avert or suspend the progress of the enemy, he sent ambassadors to Solyman, with rich presents, and proposals of peace. This measure, instead of conciliating, increased the presumption of the sultan; he arrogantly commanded the Austrian ambassadors to follow his camp, and attend his further pleasure. After embarking his artillery on the Danube, in a flotilla of 3000 vessels, he crossed the Save, and, leaving the Danube to the right, led his numerous hordes through the western provinces, as if to penetrate over the mountains into Styria. He found no obstacle till he approached the frontiers of Styria, where his progress was checked before the petty and hitherto obscure town of Guntz, which has obtained an unfading name by its intrepidity on this memorable occasion. The place was badly fortified, and provided with only 800 troops; but it was commanded by Nicholas Jurissitz, and defended by an intrepid garrison, whose memory deserves the applause of Christendom for an unexampled resistance against the whole Turkish army. The town was assailed on every side by this stupendous multitude. After in vain attempting to undermine the walls, they planted their artillery on the neighbouring hills, and even on mounds of earth which were raised above the highest buildings of the place. Breach after breach was effected, and assault after assault was made, but all these efforts were baffled by the skill, the vigilance, and the heroic bravery of the governor, aided by the intrepidity of his garrison. He equally resisted bribes, promises, and threats; and, after a siege of twenty-eight days, the sultan was compelled to accept a

* Knolles's History of the Turks, p. 615., who has well described, in his forcible, though antiquated language, this horrible invasion.

feigned submission, and suffer him to continue in possession of a fortress which he had so gallantly defended.

The delay occasioned by this memorable siege, and the check which the sultan received, gave the affrighted inhabitants of the Austrian provinces time to recover from their consternation, and enabled Ferdinand and Charles to concert measures for repelling the invaders. At the very moment when Solyman was employed in the siege of Guntz, Charles had pacified Germany by the religious peace concluded at Ratisbon, on the 23rd of July, 1532, and roused both the Protestants and Catholics to come forward against the common enemy with a vigour, promptitude, and unanimity almost unexampled. Charles drew his veterans from the Low Countries and Italy; Ferdinand collected troops from Bohemia and the neighbouring provinces; the pope furnished subsidies, and sent the choicest officers in his service; even Sigismond, king of Poland, suffered his subjects to take part in the contest. The flower and strength of Germany, from the Vistula to the Rhine, from the ocean to the Alps, flocked to join the Christian standards; veteran officers from Italy, Spain, and even from the remotest parts of Europe, hastening to share in the common glory and common danger of Christendom, did not disdain to serve in the ranks. With this force, which exceeded 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse, Charles and Ferdinand, taking the route of Lintz, encamped under the walls of Vienna; and a general and awful expectation prevailed that a battle would relieve Christendom from future apprehensions of Turkish invasion, or open the way for the reduction of all Europe under the Ottoman yoke.

But Solyman, who had wasted so much time before Guntz, was discouraged, by the resistance of so petty a place, from attempting a siege of greater importance. He was appalled by the unexpected unanimity which prevailed throughout the empire, and the sudden collection of so formidable a force; and he was separated from the flotilla conveying his artillery and heavy baggage, which durst not venture to pass under the walls of Presburgh. He therefore relinquished his designs on Vienna, and, after despatching his irregulars to explore and devastate the country, crossed the mountains, through ways almost impassable, to Gratz,

the capital of Styria. In this situation both armies remained inactive; the sultan unable to draw the Christians from Vienna, and Charles too prudent to risk an engagement, as he knew that the approach of winter would soon compel the enemy to retire. The retreat of the sultan was hastened by a diversion of the imperial fleet, under Andrew Doria, who alarmed the coasts of the Archipelago, captured Corona, one of the fortresses commanding the Dardanelles, and threatened Constantinople itself. Thus Solyman, after holding the world in suspense, and threatening the overthrow of Christendom, abandoned his vast but fruitless enterprise, and in September, 1532, hastened to secure a dishonourable retreat by the same route which he had before passed in ostentation and triumph. In consequence of his sudden departure, the irregular horse, which had spread carnage and devastation as far as the Ems, were cut to pieces, taken prisoners, or dispersed, and, notwithstanding the celerity of their motions, scarcely a remnant effected their escape.

The retreat of Solyman opened to Ferdinand a fair prospect for the reconquest of Hungary, had he been seconded by the powerful army which remained inactive under the walls of Vienna. But the same motive which had brought together such an assemblage no longer existed; as the winter approached, the foreign troops were eager to return into their respective countries; they experienced a want of provisions, and epidemical disorders prevailed in their camp. Even the emperor himself was less interested to recover Hungary than to assemble a general council, and terminate the religious feuds in Germany. From these concurring motives, this formidable army dispersed with almost the same rapidity as it had been collected, and Ferdinand was soon left with scarcely more than his own forces.

Several years passed in desultory warfare between the two rival sovereigns, which was interrupted by temporary suspensions of arms and occasional treaties; although John still retained possession of the greater part of the kingdom. At length John himself becoming impatient of the tributary subjection in which he was held by the Turks, Ferdinand perceiving that he could not gain the ascendency,

and both parties aware that Solyman only fomented their mutual animosities with a view to obtain possession of the country, concluded in 1538 the treaty of Waradin, under the mediation of Charles V. John was to retain the title of king, together with Transylvania, and all that part of Hungary which was in his possession; and, on his death, his male issue was only to inherit his paternal dominions, and to hold the waivodeship of Transylvania.* Finally, he was to renounce all alliances against the house of Austria; and both parties united in a league for mutual defence against the Turks.

This accommodation, though not honourable, was at least advantageous to Ferdinand in so unfavourable a situation of his affairs, as John was advanced in years, and unmarried. But the negotiation was scarcely concluded before he espoused his cousin, Isabella, daughter of Sigismond, king of Poland, a young and beautiful princess. The fruit of this marriage was a son, named John Sigismond; and only a fortnight after his birth, John, who had been some time declining in health, died on the 21st of July, 1540, of a stroke of apoplexy.†

Ferdinand now ought to have succeeded to the crown; as

* Transylvania was annexed to the kingdom of Hungary by king Stephen, in 1002, and governed by viceroys, appointed by the king, under the title of waivode. John of Zapoli, son of Stephen of Zapoli, palatine of Hungary, and hereditary count of Zips, was appointed in 1510. From the time of his election as king of Hungary, he conferred the waivodeship on different persons, until his death. The first was Peter Pereny, on whom he conferred it in 1525, as a reward for delivering to him the sacred crown. In 1527, Pereny was confirmed by Ferdinand, for the same reason. On recovering Hungary, John granted this dignity to Stephen Bathori. — Benko, Transylvania, vol. i. p. 172—190.

† Several foreign historians have erroneously asserted that John bequeathed the crown of Hungary to his son, and appointed his widow Isabella, and Martinuzzi, regents of the kingdom; forgetting that such a bequest was neither valid nor effectual, as the crown was elective. In fact, there is no proof that John took any step to secure the crown for his son; for before and during the short interval from the 7th of July to the 21st, between the birth of the child and his own death, he was affected with a giddiness, which deprived him of speech, and almost rendered him incapable of distinguishing his domestics. — Isthuanfius, p. 140. Undoubtedly the queen and Martinuzzi availed themselves of the sanction of his name to procure the elevation of the young prince.

well in virtue of his election, as of the compact with the deceased monarch; and he sent ambassadors, requiring from the widowed queen the cession of Hungary, with the sacred regalia, and offering to fulfil his part of the agreement by investing the infant prince with the waivodeship of Transylvania, in addition to his family inheritance. But Isabella was a princess of too high a spirit to relinquish her power, and was supported by some of her husband's adherents, among whom was Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin, one of those great and turbulent spirits who are calculated to gain the ascendency in times of misrule and confusion.

George Uthysenitsch, usually styled Martinuzzi, was the son of Gregory Uthysenitsch, and descended from a poor but noble family of Croatia. He was born in 1482, and, by the interest of his father, was brought up in the castle of Hunniade, in Transylvania, the residence of John Corvinus, natural son of King Matthias. Here, according to his own ingenuous avowal, he remained several years in obscurity and want, and having lost his father, who was killed by the Turks, he entered, in the twentieth year of his age, into the service of Hedwige, widow of Stephen of Zapoli, where he formed a friendship with John, who afterwards became king of Hungary. Being wearied with a dependent life, he entered into a monastery of the order of St. Paul, at Ladium, near Erlau, where he received his first instructions in the rudiments of learning; he afterwards took holy orders, and filled various offices in the convent with diligence and fidelity. He accompanied John of Zapoli in his first flight into Poland, when expelled by Ferdinand, and performed essential services in preparing the way for his return. In consequence of these services John made him bishop of Great Waradin, created him his treasurer, and, by his testament, nominated him one of the guardians of his son.

This extraordinary man was distinguished by singular versatility of character. He was gifted with commanding eloquence, and remarkable for his dignified and winning deportment. He was humble and austere in the performance of his ecclesiastical functions; prompt, acute, persevering, and decisive in the transaction of civil business.

In the field he threw off his ecclesiastical habit to assume the arms and deportment of a soldier, and signalised himself as a general by his skill, activity, and courage. A prelate of such a character, who filled so high and difficult a situation, has been represented by his friends as a hero, and by his enemies as a monster; but no one can deny his talents or abilities, and his greatest faults were an inordinate ambition, and a spirit impatient of control.

Under the direction of Martinuzzi, a party of nobles, as a substitute for a legal election and coronation, placed the sacred crown on the head of the infant, proclaimed him under the popular appellation of Stephen, conveyed him and his mother to the castle of Buda, and despatched an embassy to Constantinople, requesting the immediate support of the sultan. From this breach of patriotism, no less than of good faith, arose those civil wars which, for above a century, threw the greater part of Hungary under the Ottoman yoke.

Ferdinand, on receiving intelligence of these events, sent an embassy to Solyman, and, with a view to avoid the renewal of a civil war, offered to hold the crown of Hungary, as a fief of the Porte, and to pay the same tribute as his predecessor. But Solyman, whose design was ultimately to secure the country for himself, was more interested to support an infant, whom he could crown or dethrone at his pleasure, than a monarch in the prime of life, and of a powerful family, who might soon be encouraged to relieve himself from dependence. He therefore haughtily rejected these humiliating proposals; and, as the price of peace, not only required Ferdinand to relinquish the kingdom of Hungary, but even to acknowledge the Austrian territory as a fief of the Turkish empire.

Ferdinand, however, not trusting to the effect of this embassy, had in 1541 despatched an army into Hungary; and his troops, penetrating as far as Buda, besieged the queen and her son in the citadel. The place was defended with singular skill and resolution by Martinuzzi, who had collected a considerable party of nobles to his standard; but must finally have surrendered, had it not been relieved by the approach of the basha of Belgrade, who totally defeated the Austrian troops. The sultan himself soon fol-

lowing at the head of a still larger force, and seizing the gates of Buda by stratagem, secured the person of the queen and infant prince, and placed a garrison of 10,000 janissaries in the citadel.

Being thus master of the course of the Danube, and of the important post of Buda, with its dependence, Pest, in the heart of the country, Solyman was enabled to capture the principal fortresses, and to extend his arms on both sides of the Danube, and thus annex to his dominions the southern provinces of Hungary. All the efforts of Ferdinand to recover these territories were ineffectual; he received little assistance from his brother Charles, who was engaged in his own projects of aggrandisement; the population and resources of his territories were exhausted; the succours voted by the empire were scanty, precarious, and temporary; and, as the means of preserving the remnant of Hungary which he still possessed, he was compelled to request a truce of five years, which in August, 1545, was reluctantly granted by Solyman, at the instances of the king of France, under the humiliating conditions of paying an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats, and becoming a feudatory of the Porte.

During this period, the queen and the guardians of her infant son were compelled, by Solyman, to renounce, in his name, all right to the throne; and, in return, the prince was invested with Transylvania, and that district which lies on the east of the Teiss, as a tributary and feudatory country, which could be resumed at the pleasure of the tyrant, when he had subjugated the remainder of the kingdom.* Contentions soon arose between the two guardians, Martinuzzi, who stood alone in the consciousness of his abilities and influence, and Petrovitz, who was supported by the queen; and the country was agitated by these dissensions, at the same time that it was oppressed by the insolence and exactions of the Turks. Martinuzzi,

* It is difficult to distinguish the different districts occupied by the Christians and Turks; but it is probable that the house of Austria possessed the north, as far as Newhasel, and the course of the Danube down to Commora, with a portion of the frontier bordering on Croatia, as far as Sigeth; the Turks, the whole course of the Danube from Belgrade to Gran, and the country from the Reab to the Teiss; the house of Zapoli the part beyond the Teiss and Transylvania.

however, succeeded in gaining the ascendency, by the splendour of his talents, and by conciliating the principal nobles. Indignant at the opposition of the queen, and at the superiority assumed by the Turks, he made secret overtures to Ferdinand. With the assistance of his own partisans, and a corps of Austrian troops under General Castaldo, he in 1550 induced her, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, to yield Transylvania and the possessions in Hungary to Ferdinand, and to renounce the claims of her son to the crown, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor, in Silesia, with the sum of 100,000 ducats. At the same time she resigned the crown and regalia, which had been suffered by the Turks to remain in the possession of the family of Zapoli. Martinuzzi secured this transfer by obtaining the consent of the states, and by defeating a corps of Turkish forces, who, under the basha of Buda, made an irruption into Transylvania; and Ferdinand rewarded these important services by procuring for him the dignity of cardinal, by appointing him archbishop of Gran, and by investing him with the government of Transylvania.

Unfortunately, however, Ferdinand disgusted the arrogant priest, by conferring the military command on Castaldo, a Spanish general of superior skill, but who possessed the haughty and punctilious temper of his nation. This division of power, and the discordant characters of the two chiefs, produced endless contentions; Martinuzzi availed himself of his vast influence to thwart and shackle the views of his military colleague; while Castaldo laboured to infuse into the mind of his sovereign suspicions of Martinuzzi, and accused him of designs to throw the country again under the power of the Turks.

These accusations experienced a ready reception from Ferdinand, who was acquainted with the turbulent spirit of the cardinal minister, and dreaded his superior ascendency; and as the only means of removing so dangerous a servant, he was induced to give orders which led to his assassination. The order was executed without a moment's delay, and almost in the presence of the Austrian general. The cardinal having retired to Winitz a castellated mansion, where he was accustomed to repose from the burden

of affairs, was several times visited by Castaldo, who, to lull him the more into security, treated him with unusual deference and respect. Meanwhile, he intrusted the commission of the deed to his secretary, who, accompanied by some Spanish and Italian officers, repaired on the 19th of December, 1551, to the apartments of the cardinal, carrying despatches as if for signature. While Martinuzzi was perusing these papers, the secretary struck him with a poignard in the neck; but, as the wound was not mortal, the cardinal started up, grappled with the assassin, and felled him to the ground. In an instant the other conspirators rushed in, and one of them clove his head with a sabre, while the others disfigured his body with numerous wounds; the castle was given up to pillage, and the ear of the cardinal, which was remarkable for a tuft of hair, was cut off and sent to Ferdinand.

This infamous deed, far from being attended with the expected advantages, occasioned the loss of Transylvania. Ferdinand endeavoured to justify the act by a long manifesto, in which he detailed the real or imputed crimes of Martinuzzi; but he could not conciliate the nobles and people for the loss of so able and popular a governor. The natives were only prevented from rising into rebellion by the presence of the Austrian army; and the nobles either withdrew to their estates or served with reluctance. Isabella, with her son, hastening into Transylvania, was joined by a numerous party of the nobles, and supported by a Turkish army, under the basha of Belgrade. The people were everywhere eager to throw off the Austrian domination, and to relieve themselves from the burden of foreign troops; while Castaldo, at the head of an army mutinous and disaffected, surrounded by enemies or treacherous friends, deemed himself fortunate to secure a retreat into the Austrian territories.

In 1556 the Zapoli family were again established in the government, under the protection of the Turks; but Ferdinand retained the fortress of Erlau, with a large portion of the district to the east of the Teiss. The restless spirit of Isabella could, however, no better brook her dependence on the Turks than the languor of a private station; and she made overtures to Ferdinand for a new resignation of

Transylvania. But she died in 1559, before the negotiation was concluded; and her son, John Sigismond, preferring the protection of the Turks, demanded the title of king of Hungary, the cession of the district between the Teiss and Transylvania, and even the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor. A predatory warfare ensued for three years, in which the Turks occasionally interfered, till at length Ferdinand, desirous to obtain an interval of tranquillity, for the purpose of securing the quiet succession of his eldest son Maximilian, whose election he had obtained from the states of that part of Hungary which he possessed, concluded in 1562, with the sultan Solyman, a truce for eight years, by which he agreed to renew his tribute to the Porte; promised not to disturb John Sigismond in the possession of Transylvania; and was permitted to retain the territory which he then occupied.

John Sigismond refused to concur in this agreement, and made frequent irruptions into the Austrian district of Hungary. Ferdinand, who was apprehensive that this predatory warfare would occasion the renewal of hostilities with the Turks, did not avenge these aggressions, but continued to maintain himself on the defensive, and endeavoured to conciliate John Sigismond, by honourable proposals of peace, and by the offer of his daughter in marriage. The prince of Transylvania, however, being secretly instigated by the Turks, rejected these overtures, and acting with more boldness and decision in proportion to the inactivity of Ferdinand, made himself master of Zatmar, and obtained considerable advantages over the Austrian troops.

CHAP. XXXIV.—1525-1562.

WHILE these transactions took place in Hungary, Ferdinand effected an extraordinary revolution in Bohemia.

We have already seen that Bohemia was an elective monarchy, and had frequently experienced the complicated evils arising from that species of government, which were

only prevented when the sovereign was enabled to secure, during his own life, the nomination of a successor.

On his accession to the throne, the king was always constrained to acknowledge the right of election, and all the privileges of his subjects, and promise to govern according to the ancient constitution and statutes, particularly those of the emperor Charles IV. The power of the crown was extremely limited, as well by the privileges of the different orders, as by the authority of the diet, without which he could not impose taxes, raise troops, make war or peace, coin money, or institute and abrogate laws; and thus in public affairs he was reduced to a mere cipher.

The diet, which shared with the king the executive and legislative authorities, consisted of the three estates* of the realm; the barons, the knights or equestrian order, and deputies from certain privileged cities. By the laws the king alone possessed the right of convocation, but in turbulent times the states frequently assembled at the instigation of the principal barons, or by a common impulse in which the capital bore a considerable share. The number of members, instead of being uniform, depended on the exigency of the moment, or the importance of affairs, sometimes consisting only of a few, and at others forming a turbulent and heterogeneous assemblage of several hundreds.

Besides all these restrictions which had more or less controlled the preceding sovereigns, there were others arising from religious affairs, which particularly shocked the prejudices and thwarted the views of Ferdinand.

From the accession of George Podiebrad, the equipoise established between the Catholics and Calixtins produced continual struggles and confusion, until his successor Ladislaus, in a diet holden at Kuttenberg, in 1485, procured the conclusion of a religious peace for thirty-three years, by which the Catholics and Calixtins agreed to abstain from mutual persecution; the priests were allowed to preach freely the word of God; and the compacts approved by the council of Basle, which had been revoked

* Originally a fourth order was formed by the clergy; but that body being excluded during the Hussite wars, was not restored till the reign of Ferdinand II.

by the popes, were to be restored and maintained. These wise regulations suppressed the public dissensions; but the new opinions of Luther spreading from the contiguous parts of Saxony, found a ready reception among a people habituated to religious discussions, and divided into almost as many different sects as there were priests and preachers. The introduction of the reformed opinions exciting a new ferment induced the government, which administered the affairs of Bohemia during the reign of Louis, to prevent their diffusion by persecution and banishment. Many of the most remarkable Lutherans were driven from the kingdom; but the majority taking refuge under the name of Calixtins, carried their own principles into that body, while their numbers increased its weight and influence. So great, indeed, was the preponderance of Lutheranism in that sect, that in a committee selected for the purpose of establishing among themselves uniformity of opinion, they chose, as their chief or administrator, Howel Czahera, pastor of one of the churches of Prague, who had been educated at Wittemberg, and had distinguished himself in the propagation of the Lutheran doctrines.

By this similarity of religious sentiments, a more powerful bond than the frail connections of policy or interest was formed between the Bohemians and Saxons. The Reformers of Germany courted the sectaries of Bohemia as a body who, by weight and numbers, gave an essential support to their cause; while the sectaries of Bohemia favoured every new opinion and approved every innovation, which tended to depress the hierarchy and diminish the influence of the Roman see.

Such was the civil and religious state of Bohemia when Ferdinand ascended the throne. He did not attempt to infringe the privileges secured by the constitution to the Calixtins; but, as in his other dominions, he laboured to check the progress of the Reformation, and exercised the utmost rigour against those who disseminated religious opinions not tolerated by law: in particular, he obtained from the diet of Budeweiss a decree of proscription against all sects, not tolerated by the compacts, and a sentence of banishment against the Calixtine administrator Czahera, who had distinguished himself for his zeal and turbulence.

As the means of diminishing the influence of the capital, he removed several magistrates, and again separated the magistracy of the old and new towns, which had been united since the time of Ladislaus, and forbade all attempts for effecting their re-union under the penalty of high treason.

Notwithstanding these innovations, he obtained considerable support from the Bohemians during the Turkish war; and a long absence for ten years, during which no remarkable event occurred, seems to have weakened the impression occasioned by such acts of authority. During this time he made a fruitless attempt to disarm the nobles by requiring their artillery, under the pretext of employing it against the Turks; but having concluded the peace with Solyman, he ventured on more decisive innovations. He re-established the archiepiscopal see of Prague, and empowered the archbishop to consecrate the Calixtine as well as Catholic priests; and he excited the jealousy of the whole kingdom by formally revoking the reversal, by which he had acknowledged the right of election in the states, and declaring himself hereditary sovereign, in virtue of his marriage with Anne, and of the exploded compacts between the Bohemian and Austrian princes.

This unpopular and glaring breach of faith could not fail to excite the highest indignation among a people so jealous of their privileges; and the religious war in Germany brought on a crisis, which was equally dangerous to the sovereign and the subject, and occasioned the loss of that darling liberty for which the Bohemians had so long sacrificed the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

When Charles had determined to reduce by force the league of Smalkalde, and to subdue the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, Ferdinand raised a considerable number of troops in the Austrian dominions, and prepared to collect an army in Bohemia, to co-operate with his brother. But as he was well aware of the tendency of his Bohemian subjects to the Lutheran opinions, and knew that a compact of hereditary friendship and amity with the elector of Saxony, concluded at Egra in 1459, was still in force, he endeavoured to elude the privileges of the states, by entangling them with opposite engagements, and in-

volving them in the war before they could suspect or thwart his designs. He accordingly summoned a diet at Prague, on the 27th of July, 1546, and obtained their consent to raise a certain number of troops for the purpose of defending the country, or, if necessary, of marching against the Turks, or *other enemies of the kingdom*, according to the direction of the king, his governor, or the burgrave of Prague. As Maurice of Saxony was then at Prague, he also persuaded the states to renew with him the ancient compact between Bohemia and the house of Saxony, in order to counteract their engagements with the electoral branch.

During these transactions, he published, in the Bohemian tongue, the ban which the emperor had issued against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse ; declared that, in consequence of this ban, all alliances with those princes were dissolved ; and forbade, under pain of death, all his Bohemian subjects from supplying them with succours or provisions.

The troops, however, who had been voted by the diet, and assembled at Kathen, rose into mutiny on receiving orders from their general, Wertmuhle, to make an irruption into the Voigtland, a part of the electoral dominions. They clamorously urged, that by the vote of the diet, they were collected to defend the country, not to pass the frontiers ; they therefore refused to march against their ally the elector of Saxony ; declared the war to be unjust, and expressed their reluctance to commit hostilities against their fellow Christians, who, as well as themselves, received the holy communion under both kinds. The greater part, however, being at length prevailed upon by emissaries from Ferdinand to obey their orders, they marched into the Voigtland, laid waste the country, defeated the electoral troops in two engagements, and after remaining in the field till the beginning of December, returned into Bohemia. At the close of the campaign, Ferdinand punished the disobedience of those troops who had refused to pass the frontiers ; he arrested the ringleaders, condemned them to death, and after executing the most factious, pardoned the rest at the intercession of his queen.

At the commencement of the next year, he hastened to

mature his plan, and to liberate himself from the shackles imposed by the constitution, by an extraordinary act of authority, which none of his predecessors had ventured to exercise without the consent of the states.

In a mandate bearing date the 12th day of January, 1547, he declared, "John Frederic, late elector of Saxony, is preparing to invade Bohemia, and the territory of Maurice, duke of Saxony, and margrave of Misnia, and has with this view occupied the convent of Dobroluc, and two villages. The states of Lower Lusatia, as members of the crown of Bohemia, and prince Maurice, in virtue of the hereditary compact recently concluded at the diet of Prague, require succours. We, as king of Hungary, will bring into the field 14,000 men; our brother, the emperor, has sent troops to our assistance, and the Lusatians, Silesians, and Moravians are in motion. The Bohemians must also send an army into the field." It then ordered certain levies of men to be raised according to the feudal tenures; and to appear at Leutmeritz, with a month's provisions and pay. It concluded, "Either we the king, or our son the archduke, will lead the army in person; and all who do not obey these our commands, shall, according to the laws of the land, be deprived of their honours, lives, and property."

This unprecedented act of authority excited general indignation, and the three towns of Prague were the foremost to resist its execution. When the deputies presented their remonstrance, Ferdinand indignantly replied "What we have commanded is for your advantage, and ye are culpable in acting contrary to our orders. We declare that you are guilty of all the former and present misfortunes in this war. God will punish your disobedience." The deputies excusing themselves, by replying that they could not control the inclinations of the people, the king rejoined, "We have told you our opinion, and we will give you no other answer, since we have commanded nothing that is unjust. This is not the first time that you have been disobedient." When the deputies presented a memorial, stating that the levy of troops ought to be approved by a general diet, he endeavoured to stimulate their pride by reproaches of disobedience and pusillanimity, and by

recalling to their recollection the heroic courage of their ancestors. He concluded by saying, "We are determined to prosecute this warfare, whether you will go with us or not. If you accompany us, you do us a favour, and we shall be inclined to treat you with kindness; but, if you persist in your disobedience, you are alone accountable for all the misfortunes which may overwhelm you." These reproaches, being attended with no effect, Ferdinand quitted the city, full of indignation, and repaired to Leutmeritz. Here he found a numerous assembly of nobles, knights, and deputies of the towns who formed the states of that province which he had convoked. But from them he was assailed with the same remonstrances as had been made by the burghers of Prague. When the proposal for raising troops was laid before the meeting, they requested him to convoke a general diet, which could alone authorise the levy, and promised to support the proposition, if made according to custom and law; and they declared that the mandate of the 12th of January was contrary to their privileges and liberties. This remonstrance, conveyed in mild but firm expressions, convinced the king that it was necessary to have recourse to soothing measures. Having summoned the principal deputies into his presence, he condescended to inform them that the danger was too pressing to admit of delay, or to allow time for the convocation of a diet. He had promised assistance, he said, to Maurice of Saxony, who was encamped within only four miles of the enemy; he had already begun his march, and could not retreat without forfeiting his honour. He therefore entreated them not to forsake him, or compel him to disgrace himself by a breach of his promise. He engaged to recall the mandate of the 12th of January, and offered to give full security that no violation of their privileges should in future result from this step, and to declare that they took the field not from obligation, but from compliance with the request of their sovereign. The assembly overcome by these professions, fulfilled his wishes as far as was consistent with the laws of their country. They gave to every baron, knight, and burgher, liberty to follow, or not to follow the king to the field, freely and uncompelled, not for the purpose of succouring prince

Maurice, not in obedience to the mandate of the 12th of January, nor in virtue of the recent compact with Maurice, but solely to defend the person of the king, and to protect him from danger. They also promised to persuade the other states of the kingdom to follow their example; and Ferdinand, after tendering his acknowledgments for these resolutions, continued his march to Dresden.

During these transactions, the capital was the scene of tumult and alarm. The Calixtine members of nine circles, as well nobles and knights as deputies from the towns, flocking to Prague, united themselves with the citizens in a solemn confederacy, to defend those rights and privileges, ancient laws and customs, which had been granted by their sovereigns, and recently confirmed by Ferdinand. They also signed a memorial to the king, in which they earnestly requested him to convoke a diet at Prague, for the purpose of laying before all the states the affair of the levies; and they concluded by observing, that if he did not himself summon the diet, the states would of their own authority assemble on that day, and deliberate on the business.

To their memorial the king made the same reply as to the states assembled at Leutmeritz; he promised to hold a diet in person at Prague, eight days after Easter; forbade them in the interim to assemble, and at the same time issued his summons to all the circles and towns.

This measure might have pacified the states, had not the elector of Saxony gained a considerable advantage over the margrave of Brandenburgh, who was marching to the assistance of prince Maurice. The victory encouraged the Bohemians to persist in their opposition, while it filled Ferdinand with new apprehensions. He instantly despatched general Wertmuhle to Commotau, and ordered all the states of the kingdom to send troops under his command, and to supply with provisions the army of the emperor, who was advancing to Egra to protect Bohemia, and succour prince Maurice. But this mandate was not obeyed; the states, which had assembled at Prague, declared the summons of the king and Wertmuhle illegal, and expressed their resolution to maintain the hereditary compact with the elector of Saxony; they dispersed a

printed letter through all the circles, exhorting the nobles, knights, and towns, to join in their confederacy, and declared that those who did not present themselves before Easter should not be admitted. "As numerous bodies of men were collecting in the neighbouring countries," they gave directions for assembling an army to defend Bohemia, their native land, from all foreign attacks; to protect their wives and children, property and vassals, from the hand of violence, and to support each other against all aggressors. They even imposed a tax on all property, for the maintenance of the national army, appointed a commander-in-chief, and made arrangements according to ancient custom. In case of extreme necessity, they summoned all who were capable of bearing arms into the field, and denounced confiscation of property and banishment against all who should refuse to serve. They moreover named a committee consisting of four nobles, four knights, and the magistrates of Prague, to act as delegates, with full powers, in the name of the three estates.

Notice being brought that prince Maurice and his brother Augustus of Saxony had marched with more than 7000 troops to Brix, they issued instant orders throughout all the circles, to assemble levies for the purpose of resisting this invasion. They sent a remonstrance to the king, in which they expressed their surprise that foreign troops had entered Bohemia without the knowledge and approbation of the states, and with an implied threat of resistance, they exhorted him to induce the two dukes of Saxony to return. They also despatched messengers to the states of Moravia and Lusatia, announcing their common danger, and requesting succours.

Ferdinand, in reply to these remonstrances, informed them that he was arrived at Brix, and in company with the two dukes of Saxony, was marching through Bohemia, to join the army of the emperor. His object, he declared, was to protect the kingdom against the elector of Saxony, who had been put under the ban of the empire, and who had not only occupied Joachimsthal and Presnitz, but had extorted an oath from the inhabitants to arm in his defence. The irruption of the emperor, with 20,000 Spanish veterans, into the province of Egra, excited general indig-

nation and alarm; and the committee circulated their mandates, ordering all persons to repair to Prague for the purpose of marching against the enemy, while the burghers of the capital flocked in crowds to offer their personal services.

Ferdinand, informed of these movements, testified his surprise and dissatisfaction that troops should be levied when no enemy was at hand, and when he himself was marching to join the emperor at Egra. He promised to prevail on the emperor not to pass through the kingdom, assured the states that he had no inclination to infringe their liberties, and again exhorted them to lay down their arms, and to wait in tranquillity his arrival at Prague. These representations from a sovereign who had excited the jealousy of his subjects by his innovations, were attended with no effect; the delegates justified their proceedings, and declared that they had taken up arms because the states had certain information of a design to overturn the constitution, destroy the kingdom, and extirpate the language of Bohemia. And, as the king and the chief burgrave to whom the defence of the crown belonged, were absent, they were compelled for their own security to levy an army, and appoint a commander, not to act against the king, but for the purpose of protecting his daughter, the archduchess, who was consigned to their care, and to secure their country from the invasion of foreign troops. They could not, they observed, revoke the summons, and prevent the levies; they therefore entreated his majesty to divert the emperor from the effusion of Christian blood, and to return to the capital without delay. At the same time the delegates assured the elector of Saxony of their fixed resolution to maintain and renew the ancient compact, summoned the states to come forward in defence of the crown, of their liberties, and native tongue; and earnestly exhorted them to remain true to the electoral house of Saxony, since the hereditary compact was a principal prerogative of the crown, and a rock of defence to the subjects. To the emperor, who remonstrated against their taking up arms, they replied they did not rise against him or their king, but in defence of their privileges, and in support of their ancient alliances. They exhorted him, as the head of Christen-

dom, to spare the effusion of Christian blood, to be reconciled to the elector, and lead his own forces, with those of the Christian world, against the Turks, the inveterate enemies of the Christian faith.

In the midst of these transactions the diet assembled at Prague, and the importance of the occasion drew such numbers of deputies, that they overflowed the place of assembly, and crowded in the square before the palace. The hereditary compact between George Podiebrad and the elector of Saxony was read, and the public discontents were inflamed by the complaints of several officers, that the king had threatened to punish them with death if they refused to pass the frontiers.

Two days afterwards, the royal commissaries being introduced, required the states in the king's name to dismiss their troops, and dissolve their confederacy. These commands were enforced by an embassy from the emperor, who exhorted the states to lay down their arms, and pay due obedience to their lawful sovereign.

Instead, however, of paying attention to these representations, the states drew up an apology for their conduct, and appointed ambassadors to the king and the emperor, who were commissioned to represent that the states of Bohemia had been, from time immemorial, accustomed, for the sake of peace and unanimity, to contract confederacies with each other, of which the documents had been recently destroyed by fire. In regard to the levy of forces, their forefathers, they said, had always raised troops whenever a foreign army approached the frontiers, and they themselves had only acted in conformity with this ancient custom without the least intention of injuring the emperor or the king their sovereign. They concluded by observing, that as the states had prorogued their meeting till the ensuing Whitsuntide, they hoped the ambassadors would, in the interim, obtain the king's approbation, and induce him to mediate a peace between the emperor and the elector of Saxony, and then to lead an army against the Turks.

Before the departure of the ambassadors, a messenger from Ferdinand announced the total defeat and capture of the elector of Saxony at Muhlberg; and, to discourage the states, the intelligence was publicly read before the diet.

On this occasion, this numerous assembly evinced all the versatility of a popular body, easily roused, and as suddenly depressed. Those very men, who, with the hope of foreign assistance, had displayed such resolution to assert their liberties, the descendants of those who under Ziska had singly resisted or deposed their sovereigns, and spread terror throughout Germany, no sooner saw themselves deprived of foreign support, than they sunk into a servility and despondency as degrading as their former presumption and petulance were imprudent. Many of the members hastened from Prague, others who had unwillingly united in the confederacy, rejoiced, and all affected to join the royalists in their eager demonstrations of loyalty. The states congratulated the king on the victory, and represented, that as the war was now concluded, and as they fully confided in his gracious promise not to introduce foreign troops into Bohemia, they were willing to dismiss their levies, and permit the free transport of provisions to the imperial army. On the following day orders were issued to their commander-in-chief to disband their forces.

Ferdinand made no other reply to these tardy offers of submission than threats and reproaches; and without a moment's delay prepared to avail himself of the advantages which he possessed over his humiliated subjects. He took his departure from Wittemberg with a considerable body of troops and heavy artillery, and on the 3rd of June reached Leutmeritz, where he received the submission of the inhabitants. Here he issued a circular letter to the towns of Prague and the provincial states, in which he reproached them for their recent misconduct, commanded them to renounce their confederacy, summoned those who were well affected to repair to Leutmeritz, under the promise of pardon, and threatened those with punishment who persisted in their contumacy.

In consequence of these letters, nobles, knights, and deputies flocked in great numbers to Leutmeritz. The citizens of Prague alone gave symptoms of their former resolution; they proposed to occupy the castle, and fortify the White Mountain; and were not, without much difficulty, prevailed upon to renounce their fruitless opposition, and to despatch their deputies. The states assembled at

Leutmeritz, presented to the king a memorial, in which they declared that their only object in joining the confederacy was to promote the advantage of their country, and protect the prerogatives of the crown; and they promised that they would the next day erase their signatures, tear off their seals, and defend their king against all his enemies with their lives and fortunes. The king thanked them for this proof of returning loyalty, and granted them his pardon, but reserved his severest vengeance against the contumacious citizens of Prague. He refused to admit their deputies into his presence; he announced his intention to give an answer in person, on the Sunday following in the palace; he commanded the magistrates to prepare quarters for his troops, and, before the departure of the deputies, despatched a corps of Germans, who, entering Prague by night, anticipated the design of the citizens by occupying the castle.

On the 2d of July, Ferdinand himself made his public entry, at the head of a numerous army. His troops occupied the gates and the bridge, quartered themselves in different parts of the city, and encamped on the banks of the Moldau. But even his own presence, and the awe inspired by so great a force, could not repress the indignation of the citizens. A wanton insult of the Germans, who fired on the burghers of the old town, and the sacking of a neighbouring village by the hussars, provoked the populace into a tumult, which nearly occasioned the renewal of the civil war. The burghers dislodged the royal troops from the bridge, and drew cannon to the banks of the Moldau to batter the castle where the king resided; they even prepared to renew the national confederacy, and sent letters to their adherents in the different circles, exhorting them to furnish speedy and effectual succours. But the revival of a contest which would have deluged the kingdom in blood, was prevented by the intervention of those leaders who were inclined to more moderate measures, and by the policy and affected mildness of the king, who disavowed the perpetrators of the outrages, and promised redress.

The whole conduct of Ferdinand was calculated to increase the terror of the inhabitants; he prohibited the

usual demonstrations of joy paid to the sovereign on his arrival, and forbade the magistrates to approach his person. On the 3rd, he summoned to the palace, the mayor, burgomasters, magistrates, counsellors, jurors, elders, and two hundred and forty of the most distinguished citizens of the three towns. On the day appointed, these persons, amounting to more than six hundred, repaired to the palace, and had no sooner entered than the gates were closed and guarded. The king being thus master of the principal members of the three towns, and those who by their talents or influence might have roused the people to a desperate resistance, was enabled to impose his own terms. To impress them with additional terror, he appeared in all the parade of majesty, and with all the pomp of justice. He was habited in his royal robes, and seated on a lofty throne; beneath him was his second son the archduke Ferdinand; and he was surrounded by the magnates of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, who bore the highest offices of state, the duke of Teschen, the bishops of Olmutz and Troppau; the count of Lobcowitz stood before him with a drawn sword. Silence being proclaimed, numerous charges against the prisoners were read, after which the king expatiated on their rebellious proceedings, and commanded them to give an answer to each article of accusation.

Unable to justify themselves against the abrupt and heavy charge, Sixtus of Ottersdorf, secretary of the old town, humbly replied, in the name of all, that they would not presume to enter into any defence of their conduct with their king and master; but submitted themselves to his royal mercy, beseeching the intercession of the nobles, bishops, and counsellors, who were present; and the whole body falling on their knees, entreated pardon for their disobedience. They were suffered to continue for some time in this posture, and at length commanded by one of the officers of state to retire into the hall of justice, and therein remain imprisoned until the king had taken the advice of his judges. They retired, and, after several hours of suspense and agitation, the same officer of state informed them that the king, at the intercession of the archduke, princes, and lords, and of his own natural clemency, gra-

ciously pardoned their offences under certain conditions. They were to renounce their confederacy with the other states, and at the next diet to break their seals, erase their signatures, and to deliver up their letters and writings relating to their confederacy; to surrender without exception all the acts of their privileges and immunities, and to be satisfied with whatever the king should ordain or graciously restore; to bring all their artillery and ammunition to the palace, and the burghers their muskets, and all other arms except swords to the town house; to resign all their vassals and property to the king, and to his heirs the sovereigns of Bohemia; to cede all the tolls of the three towns, and to bind themselves to pay his majesty and his successors for ever a certain tax on beer and malt. They were informed, that if they would agree to these conditions, the king would pardon the whole people, and would punish none except a few persons who had behaved disrespectfully, and whom he had determined to chastise for the sake of justice and the welfare of the kingdom.

On the recital of these hard terms, the prisoners required a short interval to obtain the consent of their fellow burghers. But it was too dangerous and too critical a moment for Ferdinand to permit the terror which he had impressed on their minds to subside, or allow men driven to despair, an opportunity of rousing the people by a public discussion of these rigorous articles. He therefore sternly rejected their request, and extorted from them an immediate ratification. Several of the least dangerous were then deputed to conciliate the burghers, and the remainder closely guarded in the apartments and vaults of the palace.

On the following morning some of the prisoners were restored to liberty, on the condition of not retiring from Prague, and others released in the ensuing days. At length the remainder were all liberated, except forty of the most tumultuous and most dangerous, who were reserved as objects of public punishment.

During this period, Ferdinand had sent a similar summons to all the towns of the kingdom, except the loyal towns of Pilsen, Budweiss, and Aussig. The chief burgomasters, counsellors, and elders were compelled to repair

to the palace, and, like those of Prague, were imprisoned until they had surrendered all their estates, tolls, revenues, and privileges, and paid considerable penalties. But so rigorous was the confinement experienced by these unfortunate victims, and so deeply were their minds affected by the terrors of their situation, that many died, and others became frantic. Many of the nobles were also summoned before a court of justice to be tried for the crimes of which they were accused. Some flying from the terrors of such a tribunal, their goods were confiscated, and they were condemned to death; others appearing and surrendering themselves, twenty-six were selected and imprisoned; of these some were deprived of their possessions, others were compelled to pay heavy fines, and to hold their estates as fiefs from the king; and two only were sentenced to public execution.

As a close to these proceedings, a diet was summoned by the king, to meet at the palace of Prague on the 22nd of August, 1547, and was attended by a numerous assembly, as all were now eager to give proofs of their loyalty. With a view to strike additional terror, Ferdinand opened the diet with the execution of four of his principal prisoners, two of whom were knights, and the others of the third estate, of whom one Jacob Fikar, high judge of the kingdom, and burgrave of the old town, was in the seventieth year of his age.

At the close of this tragedy, the assembly, which, from these executions, was stigmatised with the name of the *Bloody Diet*, was opened, and the king experienced the fullest submission to his decrees. The burgrave, or president, declared in the name of the lords and knights, that they had entered into the confederacy with no other view than to maintain peace and union in the kingdom; and as it was the pleasure of their sovereign that the confederacy should be dissolved, they were ready to obey his commands. Instantly a committee of nobles tore the seals from the acts of the confederacy, which contained the signatures of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six lords and knights, besides those of the towns. The high chancellor then declared, in the king's name, to the deputies of the towns,

that on account of their disobedience they deserved to be deprived of their seat at the diet, but, as a particular mark of favour, they were allowed to retain that right. All their privileges were to be examined, and those only restored which the king thought proper to confirm. The artillery, arms, and ammunition, which had been delivered up, were sent in thirty waggons to Vienna, and an additional fine was laid on the corporation of Prague.

The forty prisoners who still remained in confinement were now brought from their dungeons. Eight were publicly whipped in each of the three towns; and, before each flagellation, the executioner proclaimed, "These men are punished because they were traitors, and because they excited the people against their *hereditary* master," a title which Ferdinand now thought proper to assume. These eight, with a similar number, were banished, and the remaining four-and-twenty, after paying heavy fines, were restored to liberty. "Thus," feelingly concludes the native author, from whose accurate history this narrative is taken, "was the order of the burghers, on account of their contumacy, disarmed, weakened, chastised, and so much reduced that they can scarcely now be said to form one of the three estates of the kingdom. Their downfall will warn posterity not wantonly to oppose the will of their sovereign, and will teach the extreme danger of being governed by fanatics."

Having thus restored tranquillity and suppressed almost all seeds of future insurrections, Ferdinand introduced various regulations, which were calculated to strengthen his authority. He appointed in each town a court judge, who was to assist in all public meetings, and to take care that the royal authority received no detriment; and, as he attributed the opposition made to his designs to the influence of the Lutheran doctrines, he used every means to prevent their diffusion. He accordingly, in 1556, established in Bohemia the order of Jesuits, which he had introduced into his Austrian territories, and encouraged them to undertake the care of public education, which was the great instrument of their power. Finally, he appointed a committee for the revision and censure of all publications,

and forbade the importation of all foreign works without their consent.

In justice to Ferdinand, it must, however, be acknowledged, that he did not, in the slightest degree, infringe the privileges which had been granted to the Calixtines; and, after an ineffectual attempt to reconcile them to the church, not only permitted them to establish in the public schools professors and teachers of their own persuasion, but procured from the pope a new confirmation of their privilege of receiving the sacrament under both kinds. In regard to jurisprudence, he also introduced a regulation which was certainly no inconsiderable benefit to the country. Hitherto appeals had been made from the decisions of all the courts of justice to the tribunals of Leipsic, Magdeburgh, and other places in Germany, which occasioned much expense and many disorders. With a view to prevent the expense and uncertainty of these appeals, he erected a court of final appeal at Prague for all his subjects, not only of Bohemia, but of Lusatia and Silesia.

Finally, he changed Bohemia from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; he obtained the consent of the diet that his son Maximilian should be declared his successor, and in 1562 the prince was crowned as eldest son and heir to his father. By these measures, Ferdinand greatly extended the regal prerogative, and abolished the evils arising from elective monarchy; he also restored tranquillity, and suppressed the factions of a volatile and turbulent people; yet he, at the same time, depressed that energy of mind and military ardour which are inseparable from a free government and are fostered by civil contests, and checked that active commercial spirit which flourishes in the consciousness of independence. From this cause the towns, which had hitherto been remarkable for their commerce, wealth, and population, exhibited under his reign the first symptoms of decline, and the Bohemians began to lose that military fame which had rendered them the example and the terror of Europe. While, therefore, we applaud his conduct in suppressing the mischiefs of unbridled liberty, we cannot avoid regretting the want of policy and the imprudent severity with which this revolu-

tion was effected, and indulging a wish that he had contented himself with annihilating the privilege of regal election, the great source of all these evils, and trusted to the effects of conciliation on subjects of religion and policy, and to the progress of events, for the means of establishing an efficient and permanent system of government.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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